# THE BOOK OF

# ARDA VIRAF.

## THE PAHLAVI TEXT

PREPARED BY

DESTUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI ASA,

REVISED AND COLLATED WITH FURTHER MSS., WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION, AND AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE

GOSHT-I FRYANO, AND HADOKHT-NASK

BY

MARTIN HAUG, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH,

ASSISTED BY

E. W. WEST, PH. D.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

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Niddry Lodge
Kensington
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THE BOOK OF

# ARDA VIRAF.

Read on board the Deccan
Feby 22 77. Found very little popular stuff, as is usual in priestly compositions, such as Buddhist sermons and legends, and such like. A lot of Popular mythology, spells and cantrips of sorts appear incidentally, and bits of other religions in which trees, cows, water and other such things are sacred. That which here appears is the ceremonial of the person and time; and things which were held to be good or evil by Arda Viraf

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# Preface.

The book of Ardâ-Vîrâf is one of the most interesting works of Pahlavî literature, as it contains the account of an imaginary journey of a pious Pârsî priest through heaven and hell, which often reminds one of Dante's Divina Commedia. Since its contents have been hitherto very imperfectly known in Europe through Pope's English translation which was based only on modern Persian and Gujarâti versions, I recommended the Government of Bombay, before my departure from India, in the year 1866, to intrust Destur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa, among other works, with the preparation of an edition of the original Pahlavî text of this work with a glossary. My request was readily acceded to, and the MS. which the Destur had prepared, was forwarded to me early in 1870, by the Director of Public Instruction, for revision and publication.

As it will probably be a very long time before another edition of the original text will come out, I thought it advisable to make this *editio princeps* as correct as possible, by subjecting the Destur's MS. to a thorough revision, and making use of all the materials which were available in Europe, but inaccessible to the Destur. He had used five MSS., besides several Pâzand versions, in preparing the Pahlavî text, but none of them was particularly old. And as the two oldest and most valuable MSS. of the Ardâ Vîrâf nâmak are in Europe, the one being deposited in the University Library at Copenhagen (No. 20), the other being in my

own possession ($H_6$), it was incumbent on an editor to collate them carefully. In order to accomplish this task, I went in the autumn of 1871, in company with my friend Dr. E. W. West, to Copenhagen, where we found further useful materials in the splendid collection of Zand and Pahlavî MSS. which had been made by E. Rask during his stay at Bombay.

To facilitate the reading of the complicated and ambiguous Pahlavî character, a complete transliteration of the whole text has been added, which we have based on a kind of regular system, as may be learnt from the second of the introductory Essays. It is true, Destur Hoshangji had sent, along with his text, a complete transliteration which was of great use to us; but as the text we prepared, differed in many points from that which he had sent, as well as our system of transliteration from that which he had followed, we thought it expedient, for the sake of uniformity, to adhere to our own system.

As the Pahlavî language is but very little understood in Europe, I deemed it advisable to add a complete translation with notes for the general reader. It is as literal as possible, and since great care has been bestowed on it, it may be relied upon.

The Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak being, in the two oldest MSS., joined to the Gôsht-i Fryânô, which interesting tale has been as yet wholly unknown in Europe, I resolved upon adding an edition of it, with a transliteration and translation, in the form of an appendix. This has been prepared by Dr. West with his usual care.

Since several long passages in the Book of Ardâ Vîrâf, on the fate of the soul after death, are taken from original Avesta texts, such as are to be found in the fragments of the Hâdôkht Nask which are still extant, I thought it expedient to add, in a

second appendix, an edition of both the Zand and Pahlavî texts of those fragments (the latter being here published for the first time), with a transliteration of the Pahlavî, an English translation of the Zand text, and notes.

For the introductory Essays I made largely use of the notes and remarks which had been forwarded to me by Destur Hoshangji to whom my best thanks are due.

During the preparation of this work, I have received great assistance from Dr. E. W. West, without which its publication would have been much delayed. My best thanks are due to him for his most valuable services.

I have also to acknowledge the great liberality and friendliness with which the librarians at the University Library at Copenhagen allowed us free access to their valuable Zand and Pahlavî MSS. during our stay in that city.

The Glossary to all the texts contained in this volume will be published separately, next year.

Munich, 8th September 1872.

M. Haug.

# Introductory Essays

by

M. Haug, Ph. D.

and

E. W. West, Ph. D.

I.

## The MSS. used in preparing the texts, with an account of the versions of the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak.

The text of the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, originally prepared by Destur Hoshangji from the Pahlavî MSS. B., N., P. and some Pâzand MSS. hereinafter described, has been carefully collated with Dr. Haug's MSS. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $H_{18}$ and the Kopenhagen MSS. $K_{20}$ and $K_{26}$, and several additions and corrections have been derived from these sources.

The text of the tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô has been prepared from three of the same MSS., $H_6$, $K_{20}$ and $K_{26}$, and collated with $H_7$ and a copy of $L_{15}$. While the text of the Hâdôkht Nask has been taken from $H_6$ and $K_{20}$; with a few various readings of the Zand version from $P_7$, which are given by Westergaard in his notes to the Yasht Fragments XXI. and XXII. The following is a detailed description of all the MSS. used.

$H_6$ is a very old and correct codex in Dr. Haug's collection, carefully written, very legible, and in good preservation. It contains the series of Pahlavî works commonly known to the desturs as the 'greater Bundehesh', in two volumes, large octavo, comprising, respectively, 17 and 13 *dastak*, *jûzû*, or bundles, of eight folios each, written 17 lines to the page, except the last 5 folios of the first volume, and the last 32 of the second, which are written closer.

The first volume has 13 extra folios of equally old paper, but more carelessly written, prefixed to the 136 already mentioned; and three more of the extra folios (Nos. 12, 13 and 16) are missing. The contents of these extra folios are: the Khurshêd Nyâyish and Khurshêd

Yasht in Zand and Pahlavî, the gifts and qualities of the thirty Yazads (imperfect), the Zand alphabet, and a fragment of the first chapter of the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, I. 1—38, which is designated $H_{6a}$ in the notes to the text. And the contents of the 136 folios, properly belonging to the first volume, are as follows:

1. Visparad, Z.-Pahl., with a colophon dated the 29th of the ninth month A.Y. 766 (corresponding to the 1st of October A.D. 1397).

2. Selections from the Gâthas *(Chîdak avistâk-i gâsân-i afzûnîkîh)*, Z.-Pahl., comprising Yasna 45, 1-6. 46, 6, 7, 17. 48, 3. 51, 8-9. 52, 1-4. 53, 1, 2, 8. 28, 1. 30, 1. 31, 6, 21. 33, 11. 34, 8, 10. and 59, 30, 31. either wholly, or in part.

3. Three fargards of the Hâdôkht Nask, Z.-Pahl., as published in this volume, p. 269—300.

4. Auharmazd Yasht, v. 31, preceded by the sentence: *ahê narsh ashaonô . . . . fravareta*, mentioned in Westergaard's note; Z.-Pahl.

5. Pahlavî Rivâyat, part I.; Destur Hoshangji states that this is the work which is also called Shâyist-lâ-shâyist.

6. Zand-Pahlavî Glossary, as published in 1867.

7. Pahlavî Rivâyat, part II.

8. Patit-i khûd, in Pahlavî.

9. The duties of the seven Ameshâspends, in Pahlavî.

10. Valuation of sins, in Pahlavî.

11. Miscellaneous passages, in Pahlavî, as to when meat must not be eaten; the three heinous sinners, for whom there is no resurrection; the respect due to a man who knows the scriptures by heart; and the place where a man will rise from the dead, which is the spot on which he died, or the first spot his corpse touched, if he died suspended in the air.

The contents of the 104 folios of the second volume, are as follows:

12. The book of Ardâ Vîrâf, in Pahlavî, as published in this volume, p. 3—138.

13. The tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô, in Pahlavî, with colophons, the latest of which is dated the 19th day of the eleventh month A.Y. 766

(corresponding to the 20th of November A. D. 1397). This tale is published in this volume, p. 207—246.

14. The lengths of shadows at noon, and at the *aûzâîrînô* gâh; in Pahlavî.

15. Bundehesh in Pahlavî, containing 30 of Anquetil's chapters in the following order: ch. 15—23, 1—14, 24—27, 31, 33 and 34.

16. Yasht of the seven Ameshâspends v. 11—15, in Zand.

17. Khurdad Yasht in Zand.

18. Akharman's directions to Aêshm, regarding the Gahanbârs, Myazd and Khvaêtvadath; in Pahlavî.

19. When the formula *Yathâ ahû vairyô* is to be recited, from once to thirteen times; in Pahlavî.

20. Miscellaneous sentences, in Pahlavî, containing advice on religious subjects, and breaking off incomplete, at the end of the volume [1].

The texts in this MS. are more correct than in any of those which follow, and supply many omissions in the other old codex $K_{20}$. In the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, it supplies a sentence in ch. 53, which is missing in all other MSS., including those copied from itself; but it also omits sentences in ch. 5, 32 and 34, which are found in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ and $H_{18}$. There is every reason to believe, from the apparent age of the paper, and the relative positions and dates of the colophons, that these latter have not been copied from an older MS., as sometimes happens, but that this codex was actually written in A. D. 1397, by the Pêshyôtan Râm Kâmdîn whose name occurs in the colophons; the 50 days difference in their dates, being necessary for writing the 151 folios which intervene between them.

$K_{20}$ is also a very old codex, No. 20 of Rask's collection in the university library at Kopenhagen; it is a contemporary of $H_6$, but is not so well preserved; several folios being lost, and many others torn and much worn. It is a large octavo, written 20 lines to the page, of

[1] A Pâzand version of these sentences, and of article 18, occurs in the London MS., India office library, Z. and P. XXII., appended to the Bundehesh, fol. 105—110; and most of that MS. is derived from $H_6$.

which 173 folios remain, the last one being blank; the folios supposed to be missing are fol. 1, 121, 145, 154, 155 and several which followed 177. The contents of this codex are as follows:

1, 2. The same as 12 and 13 in $H_6$, with a colophon (see notes on p. 245) dated the 18th of the tenth month A.Y. 690 (corresponding to the 8th of November A.D. 1321); the first folio is missing.

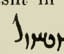
3, 4, 5, 6. The same as 14, 3, 4 and 18 in $H_6$, followed by a colophon dated the 18th of the ninth month A.Y. 720 (corresponding to the 2d of October A.D. 1351).

7. The same as 5 in $H_6$, followed by a Persian colophon dated the 9th of the seventh month A.Y. 700 (corresponding to the 30th of July A.D. 1331).

8. The same as 6 in $H_6$.

9. Bundehesh in Pahlavî, as published, in fac-simile, by Westergaard in 1851; one folio is missing. This is the text translated by Anquetil, and differs in arrangement from that in $H_6$, besides supplying the extra matter contained in Anquetil's ch. 28—30 and 32.

10. Bahman Yasht in Pahlavî.

11. Answers of , the sage, to his pupil, in Pahlavî; of which one or two folios are missing[1].

12. The tale of the accursed Abâlish, in Pahlavî.

13. Replies of Âtarôpâḍ-i Mârspendân, a Greek and a Hindû, to the Persian king; in Pahlavî.

14. Yasht fragment XXII. 39—42 of Westergaard, Z.-Pahl., which breaks off incomplete at the end of a folio, the next two being lost.

15. Srôsh Yasht Hâḍôkht, v. 6—22, Z.-Pahl.; the beginning is lost with the missing folios.

16. Selections from the Yasna, Z.-Pahl., comprising Yasna $11_{,17}$.—$13_{,8}$. and part of $29_{,6}$.

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[1] This part of the codex wants re-arrangement; the proper order of the folios (as they were numbered last year) seems to be as follows: 142, 147, 146, then probably two missing folios, 143, 144, 148 and thence onwards.

17, 18, 19. The same as 19, 7 and 8 in $H_6$; but the latter portion (about one-seventh) of the concluding Patit is lost.

It appears from the above lists of contents, that each of the old codexes contains articles which are not in the other, although nearly three-fourths of their contents are common to both; thus, the articles 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17 and 20 in $H_6$ are wanting in $K_{20}$, and the articles 10—16 in $K_{20}$ are wanting in $H_6$, while the Bundehesh in $K_{20}$ differs from that in $H_6$.

The three dates, found in the codex $K_{20}$, follow one another in the irregular order A. Y. 690, 720, 700; and although extending over a period of thirty years, they occur within a space of 36 folios, in which every fresh article begins on the same page as that on which the preceding one ends, with hardly any interval and no change in the handwriting. The colophons must, therefore, have been copied, by the writer of this codex, from the original MSS. which he was copying. Judging, however, from the state of the paper, the codex must be about 500 years old, or nearly contemporary with $H_6$. It is worthy of notice that Mihrbân Kai-Khusrô, the writer of the original MSS., from which the articles 1—7 were copied, appears to have been a great grand-nephew of Rustam Mihrbân, the writer of the original MS. whence the articles 12—13 in $H_6$ were copied; this may be clearly inferred from the genealogies given in the colophons (see p. 245, 266). Furthermore, it appears from their colophons, that the same Mihrbân Kai-Khusrô copied the old Yasna and Vendidâd, $K_5$ and $K_1$, now at Kopenhagen, from MSS. written by the same Rustam Mihrbân, his great grand-uncle.

The actual writer of $K_{20}$, whose name is unknown, is probably responsible for the numerous omissions of words with which it abounds; and he must, therefore, have been a rather careless copyist. But his trivial blunders are thrown altogether into the shade by those of the writer of $K_{21}$, which is a copy of $K_{20}$ made about a century ago, in the handwriting of Destur Dârâb, as Rask believed, but this is doubtful, as the writer often makes nonsense of his text by misreading the ori-

ginal. $K_{21}$ contains 158 folios written 17 lines to the page (except the first), followed by 14 extra folios which contain a repetition of part of the text. As it very rarely supplies anything more than is now legible, in the defective parts of $K_{20}$, it must have been written when that MS. was, very nearly, in its present state; it omits words, phrases and even folios (such as fols. 133—141, 146 and 147 of $K_{20}$), and misreads words which are still plainly legible.

Another copy of $K_{20}$, written by Kâûs Frêdûn in A. D. 1737, is $P_7$, No. 7 in Anquetil's collection at Paris. This seems to contain the same matter as $K_{20}$ in its present state, with the addition of the Nâmstâyishnî and Sîrôzah, which follow the Patit.

N. represents two MSS. used by Destur Hoshangji, which agree very closely in the text of the Arḍâ-Vîraf nâmak, and have both been chiefly derived from $H_6$. One was written by Destur Asâji Nôshîrwânji, of the family of Destur Jâmâsp Asâ, some fifty or sixty years ago, but is not dated; it consists of the articles 2—13 in $H_6$. The other was written by Destur Nôshîrwânji Jâmâspji Asâji Frêdûnji Bagaryâ [1], and consists of the following treatises: article 1 from $H_6$, four Nîrangs in Pâzand, articles 2, 3, 4, 15 and 6 from $H_6$, Patit-i pashîmânî, Nâmstâyishnî, Kâr-nâmak-i Ardashîr Pâpakân (all three in Pahlavî), and articles 12, 13, 5 and 9 from $H_6$. According to a colophon at the end of article 6, that portion was completed on the 7th day of the third month A. Y. 1108 (corresponding to the 29th of December A. D. 1738).

$K_{26}$ is an imperfect, but very carefully written, MS. of the Pahlavî tales of Arḍâ Vîrâf and Gôsht-i Fryânô, No. 26 in the university library at Kopenhagen; its date is lost with its last folios, but the paper seems more than two centuries old. Only 53 octavo folios remain, written 15 lines to the page; the missing folios are 1—7, 41—48, 51—54 and those which followed 72, and the missing text is Arḍ. Vîr. ch. 1,$_{1}$.—4,$_{6}$. 64,$_{8}$.—83,$_{8}$. 89,$_{10}$.—100,$_{4}$. and Gô. Far. ch. 4,$_{23}$. to end.

[1] Bagaryâ, or Bhagadyâ, is the surname of all the Parsi priests having their share in the *panthak*, or diocese, of Nausârî. It is from *bhâga*, Z. *bagha*. [Dest.]

This MS. has not been derived from either $H_6$, or $K_{20}$, but is probably descended from the same original as the very old Pâzand MS. $H_{18}$, hereafter described. That it has not come from $H_6$, is proved by its supplying the phrases omitted by $H_6$ in Ard. Vîr. ch. 4, 35. 5, 4-5. 32, 2-6. and 34, 5-6. And that it has not come from $K_{20}$, is pretty clear from the variations noted in Ard. Vîr. ch. 8, 4. 10, 2. 11, 3. 12, 1. 14, 3. 17, 13. 18, 3, 8. and 54, 11. While some connection with $H_{18}$ is proved by that MS. sharing in all these differences from the others.

B. is a Pahlavî MS. of the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, used by Destur Hoshangji; the name of its writer is unknown, and it is not dated, but is supposed to be about a century old, having been corrected throughout, and interlined with Persian, in the handwriting of Destur Bahmanji Jamshêdji Jâmâsp Asâ. This MS. omits ch. 41 and 42.

P. is another Pahlavî MS. of the same, belonging to Destur Pêshôtanji Behramji Sanjânâ of Bombay, and written by his ancestor Mobad Nawrôzji Sanjânâ at Surat; it has been corrected by Destur Pêshôtanji, and a copy of it seems to have been used by Destur Hoshangji.

$H_{17}$ is a modern MS. on European paper, No. 17 in Dr. Haug's collection; it is hastily written, but tolerably correct, and contains the Pahlavî texts of the Pand-nâmak-i Âtarôpâd Mâraspend, and the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, ch. 1, 1.—44, 3. The latter seems to be copied from a revision of the text in $H_6$, as many small alterations are introduced, like those in ch. 7, 1. 8, 1, 2. and 17, 9., which are often judicious, but must be received with caution, being merely modern guesses of some one well-versed in Pahlavî; as it closely resembles P., in ch. 12, 11-13. 15, 9. 16, 9, 10. etc., it may possibly be a copy of the revised text in that MS.; it also agrees with B. in omitting ch. 41.

$L_{15}$ is the London MS., India office library, Z. and P. XV.; containing 119 folios, octavo, written 10 to 12 lines to the page; its contents are as follows:

1. Rules regarding the Drôn ceremonial, in Pahlavî; being the conclusion of article 7 in $H_6$.

2, 3, 4. The same as 8, 9 and 13 in $H_6$, and evidently derived from that codex.

5. Patit-i Âtarôpâḍ Mâraspend in Pâzand, by another hand, and on different paper; with a Persian colophon dated on the evening of the 5th of the tenth month, but no year is mentioned, and the writer's name has been carefully blotted out.

6. Shikand-gumânî in Pahlavî, by the same writer as the first four subjects, but containing only the first three-eighths of the text.

This MS. was one of the collection of Dr. Samuel Guise, and its age can be approximately ascertained from the fact that the MS. $L_{26}$ (which is in the same peculiar handwriting as the Pahlavî portion of $L_{15}$) contains a colophon on fol. 62, dated the 17th of the tenth month A. Y. 1106 (corresponding to the 6th of August A. D. 1737); but the name of the writer is not mentioned.

$H_{18}$ is a very old Pâzand-Sanskrit MS. of the Arḍâ-Vîrâf nâmak, No. 18 in Dr. Haug's collection. It is a square duodecimo of 103 folios, the first 98 containing the alternating Pâz.-Sans. text, written 11 to 17 lines to the page, and concluding with the following Sanskrit colophon:

*Sañvat 1466 varshe Chaitras'udi 13 bhaume navîna Arddâ-Vîrâya-nâma pustakam ervada-Râmeṇa ervada-Kâmdîna-sutena sundareṇa samâdhânena likhitam*: 'In the Samvat year 1466, on the 13th of the light half of Chaitra, early on Tuesday (?), the book of the Arḍâ-Vîrâf nâmak was written, with suitable devotion, by the herbad Râm, the son of herbad Kâmdîn'.

This date corresponds to the 18th of March A. D. 1410 [1]; and the writer may possibly have been the Râm Kâmdîn who was the father of Pêshyôtan, the writer of $H_6$, although his writing is dated 12½ years later than that of his son.

The Pâzand text of this MS. corresponds pretty closely with the

[1] It must be observed that the Samvat year, in Gujarât and the Konkan, begins with Kârttik s'ud, or seven months later than in northern India.

Pahlavî of the old codexes, and especially with $K_{26}$ as already noticed; but it differs from them, in supplying a passage, in Arḍ. Vîr. ch. 87, 1-5., which seems necessary to complete the sense, and some others in the last two chapters, which are not so requisite; its orthography, moreover, is bad, and its misreadings numerous.

Among the Pâzand MSS. used by Destur Hoshangji, is one without Sanskrit, which also corresponds very closely with the Pahlavî text, though very corrupt in orthography and minor details. It is neatly written and partially interlined with Pahlavî, and has the following date appended: *Sañvat 1838, S'ake 1704 pravartmâne, Phâlguṇavadi chaturdas'î*: 'The fourteenth of the dark half of Phâlguṇ, Samvat 1838, in the course of S'âka 1704 [1] (corresponding to about the 13th of March A.D. 1782).

A third Pâzand version of the Arḍâ-Vîrâf nâmak is accompanied by a translation both in Sanskrit and old Gujarâti, the three versions of each sentence being written successively. Of this version, Destur Hoshangji possesses two copies. The first is in a very old MS., containing the Khurshêd, Mihir, Mâh and Âtash Nyâyishes, the Auharmazd Yasht, the Dahman, Ardâfravash and Gahañbâr Âfrîngâns, the Dhup Nîrang, a Patit and Âshîrvâd, all with a Sanskrit version; also the Arḍâ-Vîrâf nâmak and Bahman Yasht, both with Sanskrit and Gujarâti versions. The date A.Y. 784 (A.D. 1415) is appended to the Âshîrvâd, and the Arḍâ-Vîrâf nâmak has the following colophon: *yâdṛis'am pustake dṛishṭañ tâdṛis'añ likhitam mayâ; yadi s'uddham as'uddhañvâ mama dosho na dîyate; ervada-Râṇâ (Râmeṇa?) ervada-Kâmdînasuta likhitam*: 'As seen in the book, so it was written by me; whether correct, or incorrect, no blame is attributable to me; written by herbad Râm (?) son of herbad Kâmdîn' (probably the same as he who wrote $H_{1S}$ five years before).

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[1] This can be correct only if *Chaitra vad* of the S'âka year (which is the same as *Phâlguṇ vad* of the Samvat year) be taken as belonging to the same year as *Chaitra s'ud;* which is not the general rule.

The other copy is described by Destur Hoshangji as being well written, and exactly similar to the first, but the copyist seems to have been unaccustomed to Sanskrit. It concludes with two colophons in Prakrit, one from the original MS. whence it was copied, and the other mentioning the actual writer of the copy; these may be translated as follows: 1. 'Written by the priest Bahirâm, son of the priest Lakshmidhar; in the Samvat year 1507, on Monday, the 12th lunar day of Mârgas'îrsh, in the course of the Varîyân yoga, in the As'vini nakshatra (corresponding to about the 16th of November A. D. 1450); in the lands of Nâgasârakâ (the old name of Nausârî)'. — 2. 'On Wednesday the 4th of the dark half of S'râvaṇ in the Samvat year 1844 (corresponding to the 21st of August A. D. 1788) the 14th day of the 11th [Parsi] month; on this day the book of Ardâ-Gvîrâ-nâma is made complete; written by herbad Shâpûrji [son of] Frêdûnji [son of] the heaven-residing mobad Mâṇekji Homji Kekabâd Kâvasji Hîrârâṇâ of Surat'.

This third Pâzand version commences with a Pâzand transliteration of the following couplets from the Shâhnâmah:

بنام خداوند جان و خرد      کزین برتر اندیشه بر نگذرد
خداوند نام و خداوند جای      خداوند روزی ده و رهنمای

It is also remarkable for great alterations in the introduction, which make Arḍâ Vîrâf a contemporary of king Gushtâsp. The following is a translation of this introduction, prepared from a copy of the text supplied by Destur Hoshangji; its late date is proved by the use of the word *khashm*, Ar. خصم, for 'husband'.

In the name and honor of the good creator of all those who behave well *(vasãm vazâvañḍ)*, and with the assistance and blessing of the good pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, the words of this narrative of Ardâ Vîrâf [1] are recounted.

At the time when king Gushtâsp received the good religion of the Mazdayasnians from Aûharmazd, the lord; and the pious Zaratûsht Spitama

[1] Written *Ardâ Vîrâ*, Sans. *Arddâ Gvîrâ purusha*, throughout.

was gone to glory; as Gushtâsp, Dalag, Gôspadasht, Frashôshtar, Maidyômâh and other Mazdayasnians were seated together, and happily influenced, they said thus: 'Let us select, from the Mazdayasnians, one who is very 'free from sin; and let us give him a narcotic to eat, so that his soul may 'go to the other world, that it may see the soul of the descendant of Spi-'tama, the pious Zaratûsht; that it may see the thrones of Aûharmazd and 'the archangels; that it may see heaven, and the Chinvat bridge, and Rashn 'the just; and that it may see hell, and the souls of the wicked in hell. 'And it will know whether these good works, which we Mazdayasnians per-'form, are effectual, or not; and it will bring us intelligence, if the endea-'vours we make be effectual, and if those we dont make be ineffectual'. And they were unanimous about it, and said thus: 'Ardâ Vîrâf is the most 'innocent and best of us Mazdayasnians'. [*Then as in the Pahl. text of ch. I. 36—41; nearly verbatim.*]

Then king Gushtâsp and the other Mazdayasnians arose, and went into the abode of the *sacred* fires; and they cast lots among themselves, and the lot came to Ardâ Vîrâf.

Afterwards, seven sisters, the seven wives of Ardâ Vîrâf (as all of them were his wives, and had learnt the religion by heart, and recited the prayers), when they heard those tidings, they were as grievous to them as if they had come upon them most severely; and they went before king Gushtâsp and the other Mazdayasnians, and bowed and stood upon their feet, and they spoke thus: [*as in the Pahlavî version, II. 8—12; nearly verbatim.*]

Then king Gushtâsp, when he heard those words, became angry and said to them thus: 'May the wind carry you away, and the wolf devour you 'and tear off your bones'.

Then Ardâ Vîrâf, as he saw that Gushtâsp was angry, appeased them; and he went before Gushtâsp, joined his hands on his breast, paid his respects, and said thus: 'If it be customary, let me eat food, and pray to the 'departed souls, and make a will *(andarz)*; and afterwards, give me the 'narcotic'. Then king Gushtâsp said thus: 'Act accordingly'.

Afterwards, Ardâ Vîrâf went to his own sacred fire, and performed the Yazishn ceremony, and prayed to the departed souls, and ate food.

And the sisters prepared a narcotic, and flavored it with a cup of wine, and dressed Ardâ Vîrâf with other clothes, and gave notice to king Kai Gushtâsp and the other Mazdayasnians.

Then king Gushtâsp and the other Mazdayasnians came, and they gave Ardâ Vîrâf the narcotic, and he slept upon the carpet. And they instructed the herbads, intrusted with the place, that they should protect the body of Ardâ Vîrâf, by watching, and should recite the Nasks. And those seven sisters sat around the carpet of Ardâ Vîrâf, and repeated the Avesta during seven days and nights. [*Then as in the Pahlavî version, III. 1—4.*]

And those sisters, as they saw that Ardâ Vîrâf looked up, became as joyful as if they were in heaven during life; and the herbads offered salutation to Ardâ Vîrâf, and went before king Gushtâsp, Dalag, Gôspadasht, Frashôshtar, Maidyômâh and the other Mazdayasnians, and gave them notice; and they went towards Ardâ Vîrâf. And Ardâ Vîrâf, as he saw king Gushtâsp, went to meet him, and spoke thus: 'A blessing from [*as in the Pahlavî version, III. 8—11; nearly verbatim.*]

Then king Gushtâsp said thus: 'A perfect heart hast thou, Ardâ Vîrâf, 'who art the messenger of us Mazdayasnians, and may the blessing be thine; 'tell us truly about that which thou hast seen'. And having taken his hand, all the Mazdayasnians sat down together, and spoke thus: 'Say what thou 'hast seen in heaven and hell, and at the Chinvat bridge; of these speak 'truly, so that we also may know of those who have possession of Garôdmân'.

Then Ardâ Vîrâf said thus: 'I am hungry and thirsty; first food is to 'be given to the body, and afterwards questions are to be asked, and work 'appointed'. Then king Gushtâsp ordered that they should bring, for Ardâ Vîrâf, nice food, well-cooked and savory broth, and cold water, and pleasant wine. Then Ardâ Vîrâf consecrated the Drôn and Baresman, and ate the food, and completed the *sacred* repast with sweet basil *(ocymum)* and wine, and said grace. [*Then as in the Pahlavî version, III. 21, etc.*]

Destur Hoshangji observes that the Pâzand orthography of this introduction is 'horrible'; it is however scarcely so bad as that of some other modern MSS. The remainder of this Pâzand text differs but little from the Pahlavî version, and that chiefly in certain omissions, and alterations in the order of the chapters.

Besides the Pahlavî, Pâzand, Sanskrit and old Gujarâti versions of the Ardâ-Vîraf nâmak, there exist versions in Persian prose and verse, and in modern Gujarâti, which all differ materially from the original Pahlavî, especially in the introduction which is referred to the time of Ardashîr Pâpakân. Of the Persian prose versions, one is contained in $H_{28}$, No. 28 in Dr. Haug's collection, an incomplete octavo MS., apparently more than two centuries old, consisting of 91 folios, written 7 and 8 lines to the page, and mostly in a very large handwriting; from 3 to 5 other folios are missing (viz. either fol. 48, 90 and 94, or fol. 48, 49, 91, 95 and 96), which must have contained the text corresponding to the Pahlavî ch. $14,_{19\text{-}21}$. $50,_{4}$.—$51,_{5}$. and $101,_{20}$ to end. The introduction, which forms about one-eighth of the whole, combines the Pahlavî account of Ardâ Vîrâf, as Destur Hoshangji remarks, with the earlier tradition of Ardashîr Pâpakân's proceedings for re-establishing the religion. The following is a complete translation of this introduction:

I maintain praise for the One God who created us just as he willed and wills, and unto our prophet.

They say that when Ardashîr Bâbagân was king, as he settled himself in the monarchy, he slew ninety kings (some say he slew ninety-six kings), and cleared the world of enemies, and restored it to tranquillity. He summoned before him all the Desturs and Mobads who existed at that time, and said thus: 'The true and correct religion which Almighty God revealed 'to Zaratusht (*peace be* unto him), and Zaratusht made current in the world, 'no longer remains with me, so that I would make a collection of tenets and 'assertions and sayings, from the world, and place confidence in only one'. And he sent people through all the provinces, and every place where learning and priestcraft existed, and summoned all to his court. A multitude of forty thousand men went up to court.

Afterwards, he demanded and said: 'Which are those who are the 'wisest of these?' Then they inquired, and selected four thousand of the wisest, out of that assembly, and informed the king of kings. And he said, a second time: 'Be careful a second time, and separate from that assembly,

'such persons as are discerning and wise, and possess a better recollection 'of the Avesta and Zand'. Four hundred men appeared who possessed a better recollection of their Avesta and Zand. Another time they were careful, and from the midst of these, they selected forty men, who possessed a recollection of the whole of their Avesta. Again, among these select, were a certain seven men, in whom no sin had appeared, from their earliest years till the age at which they had arrived; and they were excessively careful, and pure-hearted in thoughts and words and deeds, and their hearts clave unto God. Afterwards, they conducted the whole seven to king Ardashîr.

Then the king directed thus: 'It is necessary that I should dispel these 'suspicions and doubts from the religion, and all men should be of the reli-'gion of Aûharmazd and Zaratusht, and adopt the assertions and sayings of 'the religion; so that it may become clear to me and the learned and wise, 'what the religion is, and that these suspicions and doubts may disappear 'from the religion'. Then they replied thus: 'No one is able to give this 'information, except one who has committed no sin, from the early age of 'eight years, unto the time which has arrived; and this man is Vîrâf, than 'whom there is no one purer, or more spiritually enlightened, or more true-'speaking; and on this account, it is necessary to make choice of him. And 'we six others will carry on, in some place, the Yazishn *ceremonies* and 'Nîrang *prayers* which are appointed, in the religion, for all such matters; 'until God, the revered and glorious, shall reveal the facts to Vîrâf, and 'Vîrâf shall give us information of them, so that everyone may become free 'from doubts about Aûharmazd and Zaratusht'.

Vîrâf himself undertook this affair; and king Ardashîr welcomed those words. Then they said, this affair would not be rightly accomplished, unless they went into the precincts of the sacred fire. Then they arose and performed their design and went away.

Afterwards, those six men, who were desturs, performed the Yazishn *ceremonies* on one side of the place of fire, and on the other sides, those forty, with the forty thousand men of the desturs who had come into the precincts, all performed the Yazishn *ceremonies*. And Vîrâf washed his head and body, and put on clean clothes, and perfumed himself with sweet scent; he stood before the fire, and repented of all sins.

Vîrâf had seven sisters, and as they received those tidings, all the seven came, weeping and lamenting, and said thus: 'We are seven veiled 'heads at home, and have no brother but this one; and our trust is all in 'him; now you wish to send him to the other world, and we know not 'whether we shall see his face again, or not, for you will leave us unpro-'tected; we are without father and mother, and you will also leave our 'home without a brother. We shall not permit it, for we have only one 'brother; choose some one else, and let this brother remain with us'.

The desturs, as they heard these words, said: 'Suffer and fancy no 'anxiety, for we will deliver Vîrâf to you again, safe and sound, in the 'course of seven days'. And they swore an oath; and the sisters were satisfied, and returned.

Afterwards, Ardashir, the king of kings, with horsemen clothed in armor, kept watch around the place of fire, so that no heresy should do anything, with concealed enmity, against Vîrâf; and that no danger should approach him, nor anything occasion evil in the midst of the Yazishn *ceremony*, during which prayers were offered up.

Afterwards, in the midst of the place of fire, they placed a throne, and threw clean clothes upon it; and they seated Vîrâf upon that throne, and let down a face-veil upon him. And those forty thousand men stood performing the Yazishn *ceremony*, and consecrated the Drôn *cakes*, and placed a little fat upon one of those Drôns, as they consecrated the whole. They gave one cup of wine to Vîrâf with well-thought thoughts, and they gave him one cup with well-spoken words, and they gave him one cup with well-done deeds [1]. Afterwards, Vîrâf, when he had drunk the three cups, dropped his head on to the cushion at once, and slept.

Then during seven nights and days they performed the Yazishn *ceremony* on the spot. Those six desturs were seated by the cushion of Vîrâf; and those thirty-three other men, who were selected, performed the Yazishn *ceremony* around the throne; and those three hundred and sixty additional men who were selected, performed the Yazishn *ceremony* around these; and those thirty-six thousand performed the Yazishn *ceremony* around the cupola

[1] This sentence is abbreviated, as well as the two which follow, owing to a folio being torn in the MS.

of the place of fire [1]. And the king of kings, clothed in armor and seated on horseback, with his troops, encircled the outside of the cupola, and allowed no passage there for the air; and in every place where they sat performing the Yazishn *ceremony*, a company of people were stationed with drawn swords and clothed in armor, so that the troops themselves were in every place, and no one else mingled with them; and at that place where the throne of Vîrâf was, infantry in armor were stationed around the throne, and allowed no passage, to the throne, to anyone else but those six desturs. Whilst the king of kings went in and came out of that place, and kept watch around the place of fire, and disturbed with this responsibility, he remained watching Vîrâf whilst seven nights and days elapsed.

After the seven nights and days, Vîrâf moved again and revived and sat up. And the people and desturs, when they saw that Vîrâf returned from sleep, were glad and joyful, and received pleasure; and standing on their feet, they bowed and said: 'Thou art welcome, Ardâ Vîrâf; look back 'again at that which is the holy heaven; how hast thou come? and how 'didst thou go? and what didst thou see? tell us too, that we also may 'know the description of the other world'.

Ardâ Vîrâf said: 'First bring something, that I may eat; for it is 'seven nights and days, since this one has obtained anything, and I am 'hungry. Afterwards, ask whatever you wish, so that I may inform you'.

Immediately, the desturs consecrated a Drôn *cake;* and Ardâ Vîrâf muttered grace, ate a little with water, and said grace. Then he said: 'Now fetch a skilful writer, so that I may relate whatever I have seen; 'and you will send it, early, into the world, so that a knowledge of 'spiritual matters and heaven and hell may extend to everyone, and they 'may know the value of virtuous actions, and may abstain from bad ac-

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[1] It is evident that the text has omitted the 3600 who must have been stationed between the 360 and the 36,000. It will be observed that Vîrâf and the 6 others are the 7 last selected; these and the 33 of the first circuit, are the 40 previously selected; these and the 360 of the second circuit, are the 400 of the earlier selection; these and the 3600 of the third circuit, which have been omitted, are the 4000 of the first selection; and these, with the 36,000 of the outer circuit, constitute the whole 40,000 priests.

tions'. Then they brought a skilful writer, and he sat down in the presence of Ardâ Vîrâf.

This introduction, which corresponds to the first three chapters of the Pahlavî text, closely resembles Pope's English translation [1], p. 1—9, but gives more details. The same resemblance continues throughout the remainder of this Persian prose version, which corresponds, more or less, to the Pahlavî text of ch. 4—33, 44—48, 34, 35, 38—41, 49—52, 101; it omits the additional details given in Pope's translation p. 14, 15, 37—40, but contains the long homily in p. 41—48 of the same. Pope states, in his preface, that his translation is made from three Persian versions, the first in prose, by Nôshîrvân Kirmânî; the second in verse, by Zaratusht Bahirâm (which will be shortly mentioned); and the third in prose, by the same, (which may possible be that in $H_{28}$). His translation contains all that is in $H_{28}$ (except the equivalent of ch. 14, 1-6, 19-21.), in a rather condensed form, together with the additional matter in his p. 14, 15, 37—40 and 93—101.

Destur Hoshangji mentions another Persian prose version, without an introduction, which is contained in the Rivâyat of Râmâ Khambâyatî, and in other respects, does not differ much from those in verse.

Of the versions of the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak in Persian verse, mentioned by Destur Hoshangji, the principal one is that by destur Zaratusht Bahirâm, which was composed in A.Y. 900 (A.D. 1530—1531) from an anonymous prose version (possibly that in $H_{28}$), which destur Zaratusht states he has closely followed.

A second version in Persian verse was written, in A.Y. 902 (A.D. 1532—1533), by the celebrated Parsi traveller Kâûs [2], who had come

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[1] The Ardai Viraf Nameh, or the Revelations of Ardai Viraf, translated from the Persian and Guzeratee versions, by J. A. Pope. London 1816.

[2] It appears from the story of Kâûs and Afshâd (translated from Persian into Gujarâti, in the Hâdesâ Nâmu, by Frâmji Aspendiârji, Bombay, A. D. 1831), that they were two Parsi merchants of Yazd in Persia, who made a trading voyage to India in A.Y. 900 (A.D. 1531), and were wrecked near Dîv, losing all their goods,

from Persia, with his companion Afshâd, to Nausârî, where he had thrown much light upon religious matters. His work is more condensed than that of destur Zaratusht, but appears to be derived from the same sources, as it agrees with it in referring the introduction to the time of Ardashîr Pâpakân.

A third version in Persian verse was composed by destur Nôshîrvân Marzbân Kirmânî, and a copy of it is contained in fol. 46—50 of the Rivâyat No. 29a in the collection of the Bombay Govt., written in A.Y. 1048 (A.D. 1679) by herbad Dârâb Hormazyâr, who extracted it from the Rivâyat of Bahman Pûnjyah, who brought it from Iran. It consists of 398 couplets, of which 32 are introductory, 110 are descriptive of heaven, 236 of hell, and 20 contain the author's peroration; it is preceded by a treatise, of which only the last 187 couplets remain, giving a tedious explanation of his reasons for undertaking the work. The introduction merely mentions that Ardâ Vîrâf was sent to the other world by Ardashîr Pâpakân, and refers to Zaratusht Bahirâm's work for further particulars; the author further states that, on reading a prose version of Zaratusht Bahirâm's verses, and comparing it with the *zavârish,* in company with two desturs, he determined to write his poem. In this version, Vîrâf's first vision is that of the dog Zarîngôsh, as given in Pope's translation p. 14—15, but which does not occur in the Pahlavî and Pâzand versions, nor in $H_{28}$; then follows a short general description of heaven, and an account of hell condensed into fourteen visions, all differing considerably from the original. In the same Rivâyat No. 29a, fol. 275—276, is a repetition of 30 of the

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except a few pearls. At Dîv they received an invitation from Mânekshâh Chângâshâh, an influential Parsi of Nausârî, then 70 years old, who wanted information about religious customs. They travelled by the circuitous land route, through Khambâyat, Bhroch, Oklasîr and Surat, at all of which places they found the Parsis very ignorant of their religious customs. Arriving at Nausârî, they were entertained by Mânekshâh who consulted them about several religious observances which had fallen into disuse, and especially about building a new *dakhma* for the dead. Finally, these two Iranian Parsis quarreled and separated.

couplets referring to Zarîn-gôsh, with an addition of 58 couplets about the duty of well-treating dogs, otters and hedgehogs.

Besides the old Gujarâti translation attached to the third Pâzand version of the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, Destur Hoshangji mentions another, which is separate and by an anonymous translator, based upon Zaratusht Bahirâm's Persian text; judging from its language, this translation must be fully 150 years old. A free modern Gujarâti translation of the same Persian text, was published in Bombay, some twenty years ago, at the 'Jâm-i Jamshêd' press; and it has been re-published since.

The only other MS. which remains to be mentioned is $H_7$, a Pârsî[1]-Persian MS. No. 7 in Dr. Haug's collection, which has been used in preparing the text of the tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô. It consists of 235 folios, octavo, neatly written by Dârâshâh Mihrbânji, 15 lines to the page, the Persian equivalent of the Pârsî texts being often interlined; and its contents are as follows:

1. Mînôkhird. 2. Risâlah-i Mînôkhird-i dîgar, in Persian only. 3. The seven things made by Jamshêd in Pârs, Persian only. 4. Bundehesh, part I., containing Anquetil's ch. 18—23, 1—14, 24—27 and 31, with a colophon dated Wednesday the 7th of the twelfth month A.Y. 1178 *qadîm* (corresponding to the 9th of August A. D. 1809). 5. Questions and answers, with the names of the twelve beings to be honored, the names of the ten species of men, and of the ten demons who trouble them, in Persian. 6. Bundehesh, part II., containing Anquetil's ch. 15—17. 7. Divers statements from the Avesta and Dîn. 8. Jâmâsp nâmah. 9. The story of Akhd-i Jâdû and Gôsht-i Paryân. 10. Risâlah-gujastah Abâlish bâ mobad. 11. Risâlah-i hêrbadân hêrbad u dastûr-i ân ayâm bâ 'ulamâ-î Islâm, in Persian. 12. Discussion between a Destur and Musulman, regarding God and Ahrîman, in Persian. 13. The book of Dâdâr bin Dâd-dukht, in Persian, with a colophon dated Friday afternoon the 2d of the first month A.Y. 1179, or the 27th of the

[1] By 'Pârsî' is here meant what Parsi writers call 'Pâzand' written in the Persian character.

seventh month A.H. 1224, (corresponding to the $8^{th}$ of September A.D. 1809). 14. Conversation between Auharmazd and Zaratusht regarding religion. 15. A repetition of part of article 6. 16. Yasna 45, 2, 3, 5, 6. Zand-Pârsî. 17. Short fragments about religious customs, and Zaratusht's genealogy, in Persian. 18. Vendidâd 1, 3-6. Zand-Gujarâti. 19. Part of Yasht 17, 2, 16. Zand-Persian. 20. Yasna 30, 3. Z.-Pahl.-Pârsî; and a few miscellaneous sentences.

## II.

## The system of transliteration adopted for the Pahlavî texts.

Although the correct reading of the words may be the most difficult task of an editor of a Pahlavî text, the most perplexing question for his consideration is the settlement of a satisfactory system of transliteration, and his most troublesome duty is to adhere strictly to the system he has adopted. How far these difficulties have been overcome, in the present instance, the reader will be able to judge, after he has carefully considered the rules which the editors have adopted and endeavoured to carry out, together with their reasons for adopting such rules.

With regard to the correct reading of texts, it is only necessary to mention that the difficulty of identifying Pahlavî words rapidly diminishes as the student extends his reading and enlarges his vocabulary. The number of words which really admit of more than one identification is small, and Pahlavî orthography is quite as fixed as that of modern Persian. So long as the reader confines his attention to old MSS., he seldom meets with serious grammatical, or orthographical, difficulties; the old copyists often omit words and phrases, by mistake, but they are satisfied with copying the text as they find it, to the best of their ability, and very rarely insert emendations of their own; so their language does not differ much from that of the original writer, and is generally grammatical and intelligible. Modern

copyists, including most of those of the last two centuries and many of the present day, are generally more ambitious; they are not satisfied with simply copying the old copies as they find them, which would limit their errors to a few omissions and miswritings, but they make numerous emendations, which are rarely improvements, but almost always corruptions of the text. That this is no exaggeration, may be inferred from the fact that the editors of the Arḍâ-Vîrâf Nâmak have had to consider many such modern emendations of difficult passages, and in nine cases out of ten they have found the old reading preferable to the emendation.

Having identified the words, the question of transliteration next arises, and may be solved by reference to three authorities. First, the Sasanian inscriptions which, being records nearly contemporary with most of the Pahlavî works, are especially valuable for fixing the original pronunciation of such words as can be identified with certainty; unfortunately, the existing copies of the longer Sasanian inscriptions[1] are so imperfect, that comparatively few words have been satisfactorily identified, and the pronunciation of some of the Sasanian letters is ambiguous. The second authority is the traditional pronunciation preserved by the Parsis in their Pâzand versions of the Pahlavî texts,

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[1] Any traveller in Persia who would obtain and publish correct copies of any of the following Sasanian inscriptions, would do much towards settling many disputed points in Pahlavî pronunciation and construction:

*a)* An inscription of 31 lines in a side compartment of the central bas-relief of Naksh-i Rajab.

*b)* Two inscriptions of 11 and 12 lines in the inner chamber of the Hall of Columns at Persepolis.

*c)* An imperfect inscription of 70 lines behind Shâpûr's horse at Naksh-i Rûstam.

*d)* Fragments of a long bi-lingual inscription on the detached stones of Pâî Kûlî in latitude 35 deg. 7 min. and longitude 45 deg. 35 min.

When these inscriptions have been fully deciphered, considerable modifications will have to be made in any system of transliteration of Pahlavî which can now be proposed.

which, unless it can be traced back to Sasanian times, can be used as a guide only so long as it is not contradicted by better authority. The third authority is an etymological comparison of the words with their known equivalents in other languages, which must be conducted with great care not to transgress the bounds of probability, and unless confined to the three, or four, languages which are known to contribute most of the Pahlavî words, the results of such an enquiry must be extremely doubtful, if they are not confirmed by one of the other authorities. In the transliterations of Pahlavî texts, contained in this volume, the following fundamental rule has been adopted, with reference to these three authorities, and every endeavour has been made to carry it out, with a due regard to the precautions indicated above:

1) The orthography of the Sasanian inscriptions, so far as it can be reconciled with the Pahlavî letters, is to be considered indisputable, whenever it can be ascertained with certainty; in other cases, the traditional pronunciation is to be followed, so long as it is not inconsistent with the Pahlavî orthography, and is not clearly contradicted by etymology.

Before proceeding into further details, it is necessary to adopt some general rule with regard to the vowels, as they are indispensable for articulation. The Pahlavî writings, like the Sasanian inscriptions, cuneiform and modern Persian, and nearly all Semitic languages, have only three characters to represent vowels; but it would be hazardous to assume (as has been rashly done in the case of ancient Persian) that the language possessed only four simple vowel sounds, three expressed and one understood; such an assumption would be contrary to all analogies, whether Arian, or Semitic. Arabic has fewer simple vowel sounds than any other Semitic language, but it assumes that three vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*) are understood, in addition to the three (*â*, *î*, *û*) which are expressed. Other Semitic languages add, to these six vowels, the sounds of *e*, *ê*, *o*, *ô*; and the sounds of *e*, *ê* and *ô* are also added in modern Persian, as pronounced in India. Sanskrit has eight simple vowel sounds, *a*, *â*, *i*, *î*, *u*, *û*, *e* and *o*; to which Zand has added three

additional (*ĕ*, *ê* and *ô*). Now as ancient Persian is closely allied to Zand, and Pahlavî is a lineal descendant of ancient Persian, with a limited admixture of some Semitic language resembling Chaldee, it is reasonable to suppose that Pahlavî must have inherited most of the vowel sounds of those languages, to which so many of its words can be traced; more especially those vowels which are again found in its own descendant, modern Persian. In accordance with these views, the following general rule has been adopted, which secures the use of a circumflex with all vowels expressed in the original characters, except an initial short *a*:

2) The Pahlavî letters 𐮀, 𐮈, 𐮅, when they are vowels, must be read either *a* or *â*, *î* or *ê*, *û* or *ô*, and the short vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* may be inserted, wherever etymology can show good reasons for the existence of such vowels [1].

As the authority of the Sasanian inscriptions is accepted as paramount, it is now necessary to consider how far this authority is available. The Sasanian characters are quite as ambiguous as the Pahlavî, in some cases; thus, both characters use only three letters to express the vowels, 𐭠 = 𐮀, 𐭉 = 𐮈, 𐭅 = 𐮅, and both use the same character 𐭇 = 𐮀 for *h* and *kh*, and 𐭐 = 𐮎 for *f* and *p*; in many cases also, the Sasanian confounds 𐭓 *r* and 𐭋 *l*, and when it does not, the 𐭅 *r* and 𐭅 *w*, *v* are identical; 𐭃 *d* and 𐭕 *t* are also used very indiscriminately, and the consonants 𐭉 *y* and 𐭅 *w*, *v*, being also used to express the vowels *î*, *ê* and *û*, *ô*, are indistinguishable from them. These ambiguities also occur in Pahlavî; but in addition to these, there is a special practical difficulty of distinguishing between the Sasanian

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[1]. In the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 246, it was proposed to use *e* and *o* for any unexpressed vowel corresponding to *i*, *î*, or *u*, *û*, in the cognate languages; and to use *i* and *u* only when those vowels were expressed in Pahlavî, and merely understood in the cognate languages. This is the usual plan of the Pâzand writers, but when rigidly followed, it leads to such unnatural results that it has been abandoned for the more natural and regular system adopted in the text.

*sh* and *v*, *û*, *r* + *v*, *û*, *r*. It follows from these remarks that, in Sasanian words, the consonants *d*, *f*, *p*, *h*, *kh*, *l*, *r*, *sh*, *t*, *v*, *r*, *y* and all the vowels are more, or less, ambiguous; and only the consonants *b*, *ch*, *g*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *s* and *z* can be transliterated with certainty. As compared with the Pahlavî ambiguities, however, the Sasanian readings afford means of distinguishing between = *â* and = *h*, *kh*; between = *g* and = *d* and = *y*; between = *n* and = *v*, *û*, *r*; between the Semitic suffix = *man*[1] and the ordinary syllable = *man;* and between such compounds as = *az*, or *ach*, and = *af*, or *ap*; = *dâ*, = *gâ*, = *yâ*, = *sh*, etc.

The words already identified in the Sasanian inscriptions, confirm the transliteration attached to each of the following Pahlavî words, subject to such ambiguities as are mentioned above; the vowels being supplied in accordance with rule 2:

| | |
|---|---|
| *akhar.* | *hatîmûn.* |
| *hat.* | *afash.* |
| *khitayâ.* | *afam.* |

[1] Mr. Thomas, in his latest remarks on this letter (Journal R. A. S. n. s. vol. V. p. 410—413), still adheres to his opinion that it represents the sound *î*, because resembles the *î* in the Phœnician and some other old alphabets, and also in Zand and Pâzand, and because in one word (out of twelve identified) corresponds to ברי *barî* in Chaldæo-Pahlavî. These arguments would have some weight if there were no facts to contradict them; but it has been shown, with tolerable certainty, (Journal R. A. S. n. s. vol. IV. p. 364—368) that the Sasanian corresponds to the Pahlavî , and it has also been shown, in Haug's Essay on Pahlavî, p. 112—114, that the pronunciation *man* can be etymologically explained, and the word (Hâjîâbâd inscrip. lin. S. 9, C. 8) actually occurs in Chaldee, in the form תמן which fully confirms the reading *tamman* of the Parsis.

*khazîtûn.*
*adîn —.*
*amat.*
*hankhetûn.*
*Artakhshatar.*
*hôman.*
*hômanam.*
*Anîrân.*
*Aîrân.*
*babâ.*
*barbîtân.*
*barâ.*
*bûkht.*
*benafshman.*
*barman.*
*pavan.*
*tamman.*
*chîgûn.*
*lâ.*
*rabâ.*
*ramîtûn.*
*râbân.*
*lanman.*

*ragelman.*
*zak.*
*zî —; zya —.*
*yadman.*
*gadman.*
*shapîr.*
*yehevûn.*
*kaṛd.*[1]
*kaṛdakân.*
*malkâ.*
*maman.*
*min.*
*minam.*
*madam.*
*magôpat.*
*va.*
*nafshman.*
*val.*
*valman.*
*vazlûn.*
*yektîbûn.*
*yekavîmûn.*

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[1] It will be explained, hereafter, that *ḍ* is used to express a Pahlavî when it has, probably, the sound of *d;* therefore, *t* and *ḍ* express the same Pahlavî letter.

The correct transliteration of the following Pahlavî words can also be easily settled from that of the Sasanian equivalent, which is attached to each, although the latter differs slightly from the Pahlavî orthography, and is subject to the ambiguities mentioned above:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sas. | *Akharmanî.* | | Sas. | *sazîtunt.* |
| | „ | *Âtarî.* | | „ | *Shahpûharî.* |
| | „ | *ham-gûnakî.* | | „ | *yazdân.* |
| | „ | *Aûharmazdî.* | | „ | *shatarî.* |
| | „ | *aîtî.* | | „ | *kal* in Ch. Pahl. |
| | „ | *aîk.* | | „ | *kirf.* |
| | „ | *bûkhtakî.* | | „ | *kartî.* |
| | „ | *bîrûnî.* | | „ | *minû.* |
| | „ | *Pâpakî.* | | „ | *vahîshtî.* |
| | „ | *lî.* | | „ | *nâmakî.* |
| | „ | *râtî.* | | „ | *nipishtî.* |
| | „ | *râstî.* | | „ | *dabîr.* |
| | „ | *levînî.* | | „ | *dûshahûî.* |
| | „ | *zatî.* | | „ | *zenman.* |

In the following words, the orthographies are not quite correspondent: Sas. *âtashî*, Sas. *aêharpat*, Sas. *Mazdayasn*, (etymologically *yâmtûn*) Sas. *yahmtûn.* And the plural suffix = *ân* elides a final *â* in Sasanian, but not in Pahlavî; as in *malkâân*, Sas. *malkân*; *shêdâân*, Sas. *shêdân.*

A cursory comparison would lead one to suppose that the common Sasanian final *î* was equivalent to the equally common Pahlavî

final ו *û*, *ô;* but closer investigation does not quite confirm this supposition. Of the 22 Sasanian words ending in ʔ *î*, which are detailed above, five never have a final ו in Pahlavî, fifteen have it only sometimes; and only two have it constantly. On the other hand, the Pahlavî final ו is often found in words which never have a Sasanian final ʔ *î;* such as all plural nouns (of which nine have been recognized in Sasanian) and the following: سرون Sas. *adîn*, سلطسرن Sas. *Anîrân*, سلطسرن Sas. *Aîrân*, رسرن Sas. *rûbân*, سرون Sas. *yazdân*, ون Sas. *kîn*, دوبرن Sas. *dabîr;* so the correspondence of these two finals cannot be considered as proved, although the frequent occurrence of final ʔ⌐ *tî* and 2ʅ *kî* in Sasanian inscriptions, and of ون and ون in certain rare Pahlavî books, is an argument in its favor.

Next to the contemporary evidence of the Sasanian inscriptions, it is necessary to consider what amount of reliance can be placed upon the so-called traditional readings of the Pâzand, the second authority we have adopted. A very little examination discovers that every writer of Pâzand has his own system of orthography with regard to some words, and no system at all with regard to others; thus, in three MSS. of the Mainyô-i Khard, we find *ameshâspeñdă* spelt eight ways; *hizvă*, seven ways; *Hôrmezd*, six ways; and *qadâĉ*, eleven ways. All idea of ascertaining the traditional pronunciation of the vowels, must vanish when it is found that the writers not only differ from each other, but also from themselves, in most words; and where they are consistent, they may be reasonably suspected of exhibiting rather the orthographical ideas of their own time, than any old traditional usage. Among the simpler words, Destur Hoshangji writes, at the present time, *borzashn*, *chêm*, *dô*, *dorast*, *dosh*, *doshman*, *e*, *goptan*, *gomêkhtan,* etc.; while MSS., 350 years old, have *burzhishn*, *chim*, *du*, *durust*, *dush*, *dushman*, *i*, *guftan*, *gumĕkhtan*, etc.

Admitting that modern Pâzand readings can have no traditional authority, when they differ from those of old Pâzand, it remains to be seen what reliance can be placed upon the Pâzand of 350 years ago. Comparing this old Pâzand with Sasanian, we find such inconsistencies

as the following: [illegible] Pâz. *aigin*, Sas. *adîn;* [illegible] Pâz. *vash*, Sas. *afash*; [illegible] Pâz. *vaĉm*, Sas. *afam;* [illegible] Pâz. *Ērā*, Sas. *Aîrân* (Z. *Airyana*). Comparing it with the Pahlavî orthography, we find several inconsistencies, such as [illegible] Pâz. *hamē*; [illegible] Pâz. *Amerdâḍ*; [illegible] Pâz. *Awerdâḍ;* [illegible] Pâz. *awā*; [illegible], [illegible], Pâz. *ē;* [illegible] Pâz. *Ēraz* (Z. *Airyu*); [illegible] Pâz. *râ;* [illegible] Pâz. *dâĉstā.* Comparing it with the Zand equivalents, we also find many inconsistencies, such as [illegible] Pâz. *avē* —, Z. *vî* —; [illegible] Pâz. *aratishtâr*, Z. *rathaêshtârô*; [illegible] Pâz. *tukhm*, Z. *taokhma;* [illegible] Pâz. *dîn*, Z. *daêna.*

The only safe conclusion that can, therefore, be drawn from a careful examination of Pâzand, is that, although it probably preserves many old traditional readings of the Pahlavî, it is impossible to distinguish these, with any certainty, from the mere mannerism of the writer, or that of his time. However valuable, therefore, the Pâzand may be as an interpreter of the ambiguous Pahlavî, in a general way, it cannot be accepted as an authority in the smaller details of transliteration, unless confirmed by careful etymology, when the Sasanian reading is unknown, or ambiguous.

These remarks apply, of course, specially to the orthography of Iranian words which, with a few exceptions, are all that the Pâzand actually transliterates. For the sounds of the Huzvâresh words, which the Pâzand nearly always translates, the traditional guide is the Pahlavî-Pâzand Glossary, and Destur Peshotan, in the preface to his useful Pahlavî Grammar [1], argues that this Glossary, being more than 1200 years old, must have been compiled at a time when the pronunciation of the Huzvâresh words was well known; he cannot, therefore, recommend any deviation from the pronunciation so recorded, and he attributes its variations from other Semitic languages to corruption when the foreign words were first adopted by the Persians (Gram. p. 40).

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[1] A Grammar of the Pahlvî Language, by Peshotun Dustoor Behramjee Sunjana, Bombay, 1871.

This argument depends upon three assumptions: first, that the correct pronunciation was known when the Glossary was compiled; second, that it was written down in Pâzand at that time; and third, that it has never been altered by subsequent copyists. It is not easy to prove any of these assumptions, but it is perfectly easy to compare the possibly contemporary pronunciation of the Glossary with the undoubtedly contemporary authority of the Sasanian inscriptions; and the result of such a comparison is that out of the 51 Huzvâresh words identified in the Sasanian inscriptions, as given in the lists on p. xxvi-viii, the pronunciation of 25 differs from that given in the traditional Glossary; while, on the other hand, only three, or four, of the Sasanian readings present any serious etymological difficulties. The inevitable conclusion from these facts, is that careful etymology is a safer guide to the correct pronunciation of Huzvâresh words, than the Pâzand transliterations of the Glossary.

Having thus examined the principles upon which a systematic transliteration of Pahlavî may be based, it remains to be explained how these principles have been carried out, in the transliteration of the Pahlavî texts contained in this volume. And in doing this, it is necessary, in the first place, to define the limits of careful etymology, on which so many of the details are found to depend.

As the Huzvâresh portion of the Pahlavî appears to be a remnant of some dialect of the Assyrian[1], differing from that of the cuneiform insciptions, but closely allied to Chaldee and Syriac, those languages afford the safest basis for etymology, and the more distantly connected Semitic dialects, such as Hebrew, Arabic and Ethiopic should be used only in cases of difficulty, and with great caution. The Iranian portion of the Pahlavî, which is identical with the Pâzand, being a descendant of ancient Persian, and one of the parents of modern Persian, can be best explained from those languages, but wit some special exceptions. Nearly all the extant Pahlavî writings are either translations from the

[1] See Haug's Essay on Pahlavî, p. 138—142.

Zand, or are closely connected with the Zoroastrian religion; the translator would, naturally, be much influenced by the orthography of his text in all words except those in constant colloquial use; and the religious writer would have to draw his inspiration from such translations; the influence of the Zand orthography upon the Iranian portion of the Pahlavî must, therefore, have been greater than would be supposed from the distant relationship between the two languages. The ancient Persian is of little use in distinguishing between the vowels *ê* and *î*, *ô* and *û*; and the pronunciation of these vowels, given in dictionaries of modern Persian, appears to be merely that current in India, where the vernaculars have a special tendency to corrupt *î* into *ê* and *û* into *ô*[1]; in Persia itself, the vowels *ê* and *ô* are said to have nearly disappeared under the predominating influence of Arabic; under these circumstances, the most obvious course is to refer to the Zand, whose elaborate vowel system is likely to afford assistance in determining these vowels. In accordance with these remarks, the limits of careful etymology may be defined by the following rules:

3) Semitic words should be traced, if possible, to Chaldee and Syriac; and derivations from Hebrew, Arabic and Ethipoic should be treated with great caution[2].

4) Iranian words, relating specially to the Parsis, or their religion, should be traced direct to Zand, even when they also occur in Persian; but when they are not specially Parsi words, they should be traced to

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[1] This tendency is particularly strong in Parsi Gujarâtî, and leads to such pronunciations as *Angrej*, *behesht*, *bojorg*, *del*, *dojakh*, *ehesân*, *ekhtîâr*, *ensâf*, *golâm*, *goso*, *hokam*, *keâmat*, *kheâl*, *sâheb*, *Zaratosht*, etc.

[2] It is necessary to guard against the idea that the Persians pronounced the Semitic words whilst reading, or used them in conversation; for they appear to have always translated them into Persian, and used the Persian equivalent; as the English write *viz.* and *lbs.*, and read *namely* and *pounds*. This habit accounts for the total disappearance of these Semitic words, as soon as the Pahlavî character was disused; see Haug's Essay on Pahlavî, p. 127, 130.

Persian, merely referring to the Zand equivalent to ascertain if *e*, *ê*, *o*, or *ô* should be used instead of *a*, *i*, *î*, *u*, or *û*.

In applying these rules, many doubtful cases occur, which can only be settled, somewhat arbitrarily, on their several merits; thus the Zand prepositional prefix *hañ-* generally becomes *an-* in modern Persian (*hangâm* being one of the exceptions), so that and would be read *hanjaman* and *handâm* if traced to Zand, or *anjaman* and *andâm* if traced to Persian; with a due regard, however, for rule 4, the Zand reading has been adopted for *hanjaman*, and the Persian reading for *anbâr*, *andêshîḍ*, *andâzîḍ*, *angârḍ*, *andâm*, *andarz*, *andôkht*, etc.

The transliteration of , and is beset with many complications, as they stand for both vowels and consonants, and for more than one of each.

The letter represents the consonants *h* and *kh* in many words, of which the following are a few instances; it stands for *h* in *hat* *hazâr*, *hasht*, *ham*, *hangâm*, *hûmat*; *chahâr*, *zahabâ*, *dahishn*, *mahmân*, *vahisht*; *zreh*, *stih*, *shukûh*, *mâh*, *vêh*; and it stands for *kh* in *khâr*, *khâk*, *khân*, *khrafstar*, *khvâst*, *khûḍ*, *khûn*; *akhar*, *apâkhtar*, *bakht*, *lakhmâ*, *sakht*; *akh*, *mîkh*; when the *h*, or *kh*, is final, the is often enlarged into . There is a tendency in Pahlavî to preserve the consonant before *sh*, in cases where it has nearly, or entirely, disappeared in Persian, as in *Zaratûhasht* and *pâḍakhshah;* for this reason, it is doubtful whether (Z. *âtarsh*) should be read *âtakhsh*, or *âtâsh*, but the latter reading has been adopted, as the more probable; the words , and occur in the Naksh-i Rûstam inscription, lin. 17, 34, 36, but owing to the practical difficulty of distinguishing between 22 *sh* and 22 *rô*, *ûr*, it is doubt-

ful whether these words are to be read *âtashî* and *âtashân*, or *âtarôî* and *âtarôân*, or *Âtûrî* and *Âtûrân*.

The initial vowel is generally a short *a*, like ا and א, there being no other way of expressing the short initial *a;* in some cases however, the initial vowel is lengthened in the cognate languages, and then the initial should be read *â*, as in *âtâsh*, *âtarô*, *âv* and *âz*, *âvâḍân*, *âzarḍ*, *âzarm*, *âvîkht*, *âzûr*, or *âzvar*, *âvôrḍ*, *âpûstanŏ*, *âfrînô*, *âlûḍak*, *âs*, *âsân*, *âsrûk*, *âsyâv*, *âsmân*, *âsn*, *âshtîh*, *âshûp*, *âkâs*; *âkûst*, *âmûkht*, *âmûrzishn*, *ângûn*, etc. With a few doubtful exceptions, is the only initial vowel in Pahlavî, like ا in Persian and Arabic, and א in Hebrew and Chaldee; but it forms initial diphthongs with the other two vowels, and, as in *Aûharmazd*, *aûbash*, *aûpârḍ*, *aûftînand*, *aûpast*, *aûzdistâr*, *aûrvar*, *aûzîr* (Z. *uzayara*), *aûstâḍ*, *aûsturḍak*, *aûsôfrîḍ*, *aûshbâm*; *aît*, *Aîrân*, *Aîrîch*, or *Aîrîv*, *aîgh*, *ayûf*, *aînman*, etc. It may be observed that in none of these words, can the initial diphthong be traced to an original *ô*, or *ê*, although the Pâzand writers often use *o*, or *ē*, to represent such diphthongs, which practice[1] is justifiable in only a few cases, such as the following: *aôj*, *aê*, *aêtûn*, *aêchand*, *aêrpat*, *aêshm*, or *khêshm*. Excepting the idhâfat *i*, the only available instances of words com-

[1] This practice has, no doubt, a close connection with the aversion of Parsi Gujarâtî to the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, which it always changes, if possible, into *e* and *o*, as in *eb*, Ar. عیب; *esh*, Ar. عیش; *ojâr*, Ar. اوزار; *olâd*, Ar. اولاد; *okhaḍ*, *oshaḍ*, Sans. *aushadha;* etc.

mencing with any other vowel but, are the rare and uncertain forms *ûzdahîshnîh*, *în* این, *îstâdak* ایستادك, and *Isadvâstar;* when *yazishn* is intended to commence with a vowel, it is written *aîzishn*, as often occurs in the Dîn-kard.

The medial, or final, vowel is always a long *â*, but it is sometimes used where only the short *a* occurs in the cognate languages, as in *âtâsh* آتش; *amâvand*, Z. *amavañtem*, which is sometimes further lengthened into; *bâkht* بخت; *bâhar* بهر; *Bâhrâm* بهرام; *pâhrêj* پرهیز; *pâhnâî* پهنائی; *pânâk* پناه; *tâkht* تخت; *Tâkhmôrapŏ*, Z. *Takhmô-urupa;* *châshîḍ* چشید; *zâhar* زهر; *zâkham* زخم; *sâhmgûn* سهمگین; *dânar*, Z. *danare;* *Gâyômarḍ*, Z. *Gayô* + *mareta*; and *mâzdayasnân*, Z. *mazdayasna*; etc.

The letter often represents the consonants *n* and *v* [1], and sometimes *r* and *l;* when initial, it seems to be always a consonant, like, and, except in the doubtful instance mentioned above, and is limited to the sounds *n* and *v*, being often the conjunction *va*, which is nearly always joined to the following word in MSS., though sometimes to the preceding one, if it end in or. The letter stands for *n* in *nâmak*, *nafshman*, *nask*; *anâk*, *ranj*, *sang;* *âsân*, *rôshan*, *kîn*, etc.; and it stands for *v* in *va*, *vâḍ*, *vartâ*, *Vishtâsp;* *harvisp* *khavîḍ*, *zîvast*, etc.; as a final *v* it is rare, though it can be found in the rather doubtful forms *nîv* نیو, and *jav* جو. When represents the Chaldee *y*, it seems best to follow the Semitic

[1] More probably the English *w*.

practice and consider it a consonant, as in *pavan*, *levîn*, *kevan*, *mandavam*, *vâdûn*, *val*, *varîkûn*, *vad*, etc.; and the same rule may be reasonably adopted when = Chald. א, as in *vakhdûn*, *valman*, *vazlûn*, etc.

The occasional use of for *r* and *l*, in addition to its common sounds of *n*, *v*, *û*, *ô*, is best explained by the history of the Sasanian characters representing those letters[1]. On the earliest Sasanian coins, the character for *n* is like , while a letter like 2 is used for *r*, *l*, *v* and *û*; somewhat later coins and the earliest rock inscriptions have for *n*, 2 for *r*, *v* and *û*, and for *l* and *r;* and later inscriptions make still more use of for *r*. In the course of time, *n* and 2 *r*, *l*, *v*, *û*, both changed into which thus inherited the sounds *r*, *l*, *n*, *v* and *û;* and *l*, *r* changed into and , both of which retained the sounds of *l* and *r;* thus we find both and *kartî*, in the inscriptions, for and *kartô*. In Pahlavî writings, the following words have been noticed, in which stands for *r*: *âtarô*, *avârîk*, *âfrînagân*, *âfrînô*, *khamrâ*, *Amerôdad*, *Aûharmazd*, *Artakhshatar*, *Artakhshîr*, *khûrsand*, *Horvadad*, *barâ*, *beratman*, *barman*, *frâz*, *farzand*, *parashayâ*, *pûrsîd*, *fardand*, *tôrâ*, *Spendarmad*, *sardâr*, *shatrô*, *shatvêrô*, *kirfak*, *kard*, *karîtûn*, *kîrâ*, *Mârspend*, *Mitrô*, *maranâ*, *marantâ*, *gabrâ*, *dapîrŏ*, *Ganrâk*, *drûst*, *gûrd*, etc. And stands for *l* in *pelag*, *shlum*, *ghal* (Chaldæo-Pahl. *kal*, a harsher pronunciation of *val*), *kolâ*, *milayâ*, *gamlâ*, *yemâlelûn* (also written ), *jald*, etc.

[1] See Thomas's Notes on Pehlvi coins, etc. Journal R.A.S. vol. XIII. p. 377—379.

When medial is a vowel, it may be read either *û*, or *ô*, according to the etymology of the word; thus we read it *û* in all cases where it cannot be traced to any other vowel but *u*, or *û*, in the cognate languages, as well as in those cases where the etymology is quite uncertain; a few instances, in which it corresponds to *û*, are *khefrûn* and other Huz. verbs, *ashnûḍ*, *hûkht*, *khûn*, *bîrûn*, *pûmman*, etc. It corresponds to a short *u* in other languages, in such words as *hû-*, *âmûrzishn*, *angûst*, *bûrḍâr*, *bûrz*, *bûland*, *pûr*, *pûrsîḍ*, *kûnishn*, *nakhûst*, *daregûsh*, *gûft*, *gûrbak*, *gûrḍ*, *gûrg*, *dûsh-*, *gûmân*, *dûmbak*, *drûst*, etc.; also in the superlative suffix *-tûm*, and the ordinal suffix *-ûm*. The medial vowel is transliterated *ô*, first, when it corresponds to *ao*, or *ô*, in Zand, or Chaldee, as in *hû-rôst*, *anôshak*, *bôî*, *parâhôm*, *pôryô*, *tôkhm*, *tôrâ*, *rôst*, *rôshan*, *Srôsh*, *shôlman*, *kôf*, *kôkbâ*, *môr*, *drôn*, *gôspend*, *gôsh*, *yôshdâsar*, *yôm*, etc.; secondly, when it appears to correspond to any other vowel, or diphthong, in the same languages, besides those already mentioned[1], as in *afsôs*, *âvôrḍ*, *ashkômbŏ*, *Amerôdaḍ*, *andôkht*, *baresôm*, *bôndak* 'a slave', *pâḍôkhshah*, *frôḍ*, *pôst*, *pôsht*, *tôhîk*, *tûbânôm*, *tômîk*, *rasîḍôm*, *zôfar*, *mastôrg*, *môzd*, *môg*, *varôîshn*, *vîmônd*, *gôhar*, *dôst* (anc. Pers. *daustar*), *gôndak*, etc.

[1] This is the general rule of the Pâzand writers, so far as can be judged from their very irregular readings; its adoption, therefore, prevents any very wide departure from the Pâzand, with regard to this vowel; and the same remarks apply to the similar rule regarding the vowel *ê*.

The transliteration of final is complicated with a question of orthography which leads to much uncertainty and requires careful consideration. There is no difficulty when the final is clearly *n*, or *v*, as in the examples already given (p. xxxv), to which may be added such words ending in as *barîjan*, *lajan*, *levîn*, *min* and *man*, and many words ending in *-ân*, *-ishn* and *-în*, *-ên*; also such words ending in as *apîyûn*, *bûn*, *pavan*, *chûn*, *shîvan*, *kevan* and *kûn*, *mûn*, *drôn*, all crude Huz. verbs in *-ûn*, and many words ending in *-rûn*, *-ûn*, and *-gûn*. In a few words, the final appears to be *û*, as in *ahû*, *abû*, *tanû*, *Rashnû*, *rû*, *mû*, *dûshahû*; but of these we also find the forms , , , , and . And in some cases, a final can be readily identified with a Zand *ô*, or *âo*, as in *Âtarô* (Z. gen. *âthrô*, pl. nom. acc. *âtarô*), *dînô* (Z. pl. nom. acc. *daênâo*), *shatrô* and *Mitrô* (Z. nom. *Mithrô*); but this explanation is not applicable to the infinitive suffix , which seems to be the only remaining case where the final is constant.

The chief difficulty, however, in transliterating a final , arises in those cases where it seems to be an optional final, either added, or omitted, by the writer, without any apparent reason, but according to some vague rule which practically divides the MSS. into three classes. First, the modern MSS., in which the writer is not satisfied with copying his text, but revises it with doubtful success; such writers generally add an extra to every final *n*, except that of the Semitic suffix *man*, and often to the syllables *ân*, *shn* and *în*, when they are medial; but they rarely add the optional final to , or any other letter. Second, the very old MSS., which are much more sparing in the use of after , and after they generally separate it, and read it as the conjunction *va* beginning the next sentence; from a careful examination of 3 chapters of the Bundehesh and 16 of the Ardâ-Vîrâf

nâmak in the MSS. H6 and K20 (which are nearly 500 years old), it appears that the old writers used the optional final only once in an average of nine occurrences of the plural suffix *-ân*, the pronominal suffixes *-tân*, *-shân*, *-mân*, and most words ending in *-ân;* while they used it after the abstract suffix *-ishn* and the word *rûbân*, nearly as often as they omitted it. Third, the MSS. which seem to have been rarely copied, such as the Dîn-kard and Nîrangistân, but of which only modern copies have been examined; these add the extra to a final *n* oftener than they omit it, but they also add it to most words ending in *t*, *k*, *p*, *f*, and *ch*, *j*. When a suffix is added to the word, it generally elides the optional final ; but there are many exceptions to this general rule, in all classes of MSS. Turning to the Pahlavî legends on coins[1], we find the optional final sparingly used on the coins of the Arab governors of Persia, and the rulers of Tabaristân, shortly after the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty in A. D. 651; it is added occasionally to in several numerals ending in *shast*, *navad* and *sad*, in the names خالد, *Khûrshêd*, , , etc. and in *afzûd;* it is added to in مهلب, to in ابدالعزیز, and to final in *Marvânân*, *Kirmân* and other more doubtful readings; but the merely optional character of this final is as evident on the coins as in the books, by the numerous instances in which it is omitted; it is also worthy of note that it is added to the same letters, , , and , in both cases, while the remaining letter , which takes the extra in some books, does not occur as a final on these coins, so far as has been observed; and the only certain instance of a plural in *-ân* (which occurs in

[1] See Mordtmann's essays in the Zeitschrift der D. M. G., and Thomas's in the Journal of the R. A. S.

the khalîf's title *amîr-i varôîshnîkân*, 'commander of the believing') does not take the optional final, although it occurs several times.

If this final ı were a consonant, or indicated a change of sound in the preceding consonant, it would be so essential a part of the word, that its frequent omission would be difficult to explain; and if it merely indicated the end of a word, or the suppression of a final short vowel, it ought to be much more frequently used. But its optional character indicates that it is no essential part of the word. Destur Hoshangji considers it as a representative of any final vowel, in the same way as ı and א are representatives of a short initial vowel, and he extends this hypothesis to many cases where medial ı takes the place of *a* and *i* in the cognate languages; this was evidently the opinion of most of the writers of modern MSS., in many cases; and also of the older writers, with regard to. That certain Pahlavî words retained an original final vowel, in a modified form, is evident from the frequent occurrence of the final *î* in the Sasanian inscriptions, which seems to be used in a similar manner to the final ı in Pahlavî, although it cannot be shown to be quite equivalent to it (see p. xxix). And there is nothing impossible in the hypothesis that the Pahlavî, whilst generally dropping the complex terminations of the languages whence it derived its words, may occasionally have retained such a termination; in fact, we know this was done in such cases as the termination *-ûn* of the crude Huzvâresh verbs, the word *âtâsh* (Z. nom. *âtarsh*), etc.; and we have only to extend this hypothesis, by supposing that some writers rejected all vowel terminations, while others occasionally retained a vowel to represent them, and we obtain an explanation of the optional use of a final vowel.

That the Zand terminations *ô* and *âo* often become ı in Pahlavî, instead of being dropped, is proved by the compound words *ameshôspend*, Z. pl. nom. acc. *ameshâo spenta*; *pôryô-dkêsh*, Z. *paoiryô-dkaêsha*; *pêshyôtanû*, Z. *peshôtanu*; *Tâkhmôrapŏ*, Z. *Takhmô-urupa*; *srôshô-cha-*

*ranâm*, Z. *sraoshô-charana;* *Gâyômard*, Z. *gayô* + *mareta;* *vâstryôsh*, Z. *vâstryô-fshuyãs;* *Nêryôsang*, Z. *Nairyô-sanha;* *garôḍmân*, Z. *garô-demâna;* etc. We are, therefore, prepared to find that the optional final , as well as the constant final (in the words quoted in p. xxxviii), sometimes represents the same Zand terminations, and may therefore be read *ô*, as in *âfrînô;* *arashkô*, Z. *araskô;* *rûbânô*, Z. pl. nom. acc. *urvânô;* *rôshanô*, Z. *raochanhô;* *zarînô*, Z. *zairinô?;* *srûbô*, 'horn', Z. pl. acc. *srvâo;* *yêdatô*, Z. *yazatô;* *vahishtô;* *nabânazdishtô;* *drônô;* *dastô;* *dashinô;* *dûmbô;* all past participles ending in *-tô*, as *kartô*, Z. *keretô*; etc. With a due consideration for these facts, and for the obscurity in which the identification of this letter still lies, the following general rule has been adopted for its transliteration; while care has been taken not to admit this optional final into the texts, except where it occurs in the old MSS.

5) Whenever it is possible that the optional final may be the equivalent of the termination *ô*, or *âo*, in some form of the word in Zand, it should be transliterated by *ô*; in all other cases it is supposed to represent some obscure vowel sound which can be represented by *ŏ*.

The same obscure vowel *ŏ* can also be used for the final of the infinitive suffix *-tanŏ*, and of a few other words, where the final is constant, but cannot be traced to an original *ô*, *âo*, *u*, or *û*.

The letter often represents the consonants *y*, *d* and *g*, and sometimes *j;* when initial it seems to be always a consonant, like and , except in the doubtful instances mentioned in p. xxxv. It stands for *y* in *yazishn*, *yôm;* *rûyîn*, *zîyân*, *mûyak*, etc.; it stands for *d* in *dastô*, *denman;* *andêshîḍ*, *shêdâ;* *hômand*, *pazd*, etc.; it stands for *g* in *gabrâ*, *garm;* *ângûn*, *sadîgar;* *pelag*, *ta-*

*karg*, etc.; and it stands for *j* in *jih*, *jâm*, *Jâmâsp*, *jâmak*, *jân*, *jânûk*, *jalḍ*, *javîḍ* and a few others.

When medial is a vowel, the rules adopted for reading it *î*, or *ê*, are similar to those for reading *û*, or *ô*, for . A few instances, in which it corresponds to *î*, in the cognate languages, are *âfrînô* *avîrân*, *aîtŏ*, *bîm*, *tînâ*, *nîz*, etc. It corresponds to a short *i* in other languages, in such words as *hîkhar*, *hû-chîhar*, *Tîshtar*, *tîshgâ*, *tîshn*, *chîgûn*, *chîm*, *Chînûvat*, *rapîtûvîn*, *zîsht*, *dîl*, *nâîrîk*, *nîhân*, *nîhîp*, etc. The medial vowel is transliterated *ê*, when it corresponds to *aê*, *ê*, or *e*, in Zand, or Chaldee, as in *âkhêzîḍ*, *ara-têshtâr*, *khûrshêḍ*, *andêshîḍ*, *khvê-tûkdas*, *khvêsh*, *aêrpat*, *khêshm*, *bêtâ*, *bêsh*, *bêvar*, *Frêḍûn*, *pêsîḍ*, *zên*, *gês*, *kêsh*, *mêzîḍ*, *mêsh*, *nêshman*, *nê-mak*, *gêhân*, etc.; an exception has been made in the case of the word *dînô*, as the Pâzand writers adhere strictly to that Arabic pronunciation, although the original Zand word *daêna*, pl. nom. acc. *daênâo*, indicates that *dênô* ought to be the old Persian pronunciation. The medial vowel is also transliterated *ê*, when it appears to correspond to any other vowel, or diphthong, in the same languages, besides those already mentioned, as in *pêstân*, *pêsh*, *dêr*, *yêdatô*, *Shatvêrô*, *kêf*, *kêshvar*, *vêh*, *Nêryôsang*, *vêsh*, etc.; exceptions have been made in the words *mînîḍ*, *mînishn*, *mînavad* and others from the same root, in which – ought to be read *mên*-, according to the general rule, as it represents the Zand *main*-. It would,

no doubt, be more satisfactory, in all cases, to depart from the general rule of the Pâzand writers, which substitutes *ē* for *ai*, as they have themselves done in *minîḍ* and *mainyô;* and the various Pahlavî equivalents of the Zand prefix *paiti*, indicate that there is no very good reason for condensing the diphthong into a single vowel; thus, Z. *paiti* becomes in *paḍash*, *patkâr*, *patkûft*, *paḍmânak*, *paḍmûkht*, *paḍvast*, *paḍvand*, etc., and in *patîyârak*, *paḍîraft*, *paḍîrak*, etc.; it becomes in *pâḍakhshah*, *pâḍafrâs*, *pâḍadahishn*, etc., and in *pâḍyâv*, etc.; it becomes in *pêḍâk*, *pêtkham*, etc., and in *pêtîshtân*, etc.; besides the further modified forms of *pa-* and *pâh-*, in a few words. Now it is evident that, if we admit the principle of the short vowel *i* being understood as well as *a*, all these forms closely approximate in sound, thus we can read *paiti-*, *paitî-*, *pâiti-*, *pâitî-*, *paîti-* and *paîtî-*; it has been thought, however, too wide a departure from 'tradition', to adopt such readings in the transliteration of the texts.

There are several words which occur in two forms, one in which the vowel , or , is expressed, and the other in which it is omitted; this variation in orthography indicates clearly that the short vowel *u*, *o*, *i*, or *e*, must be understood in the latter forms, thus, we find both *anâmûrz* and *anâmurz*, *hûmat* and *humat*, *tûkhshîḍ* and *tukhshîḍ*, *sakhûn* and *sakhun*, *vazûrg* and *vazurg*, *drûkht* and *drukht*, *gazdûm* and *gazdum;* *rôst* and *rost*, *môzd* (Z. *mîzhdem*) and *mozd*; *avîstâk* and *avistâk*, *harvîsp* and *harvisp*, *rîst* (Z. *irista*) and *rist*, *dahîshn* and *dahishn*,

*vahîsht* and *vahisht*, *nîhân* and *nihân*, *dîlîr* and *dilîr*, the suffix *-îch* (Z. *cha*) and *-ich*; *khêshm* and *kheshm*, *rêsh* and *resh*, *kêm* and *kem*, *gajêstak* and *gajestak*, etc.

But besides these, there are many other words in which the same short vowels occur in the cognate languages, and may therefore, be reasonably inserted in the transliteration of Pahlavî; such are *afsurḍ*, *astukhvân*, *aûsturḍak*, *burîḍ*, *pasukhô*, *shukûh*, *nuhûm*, *numûḍ*, *Horvadaḍ*, *kolâ*, *Vohûman*; *khâkistar*, *khiraḍ*, *harvist*, *li*, *stih*, *shikast*, all abstracts in *-ishn*, *kirm*, *kirfak*, *Mitrô*, *min*, *nipisht*, *Vishtâsp*, *nishast*, *nikâs*, *nikûn*, *nikîrishn*, *girḍ*, *giryân*, *dashin*, *Yim*; *aperenâyîk*, *lekûm*, *kabed*, *kerp*, *Keresâspô*, *marenchînîḍ*, *varenô*, *daregûsh*, *gôspend*, *denman*, etc.

As many Zand verbs have a different vowel in the crude form of the present, to that in the past participle, a difficulty arises in determining, according to rule 4, whether the vowel of the Pahlavî verb should be *î* or *ê*, *û* or *ô*. The simplest solution of this question, is to adopt the Zand practice, and use both forms, as is already done in Persian in other instances, such as داد and دهد, ستود and ستايد, فرمود and فرمايد, مُرد and ميرد, نمود and نمايد, etc. Thus we read *pâhrîkht* and *pâhrêjêḍ*, *rîkht* and *rêjêḍ*, *sûkht* and *sôjêḍ*, *gûmîkht* and *gûmêjêḍ*, etc.

Next to the vowels, one of the most uncertain points in Pahlavî

is the sound of [Pahlavi] in many words; and the confusion of its two sounds, *t* and *d*, dates from Sasanian times, as the inscriptions have both *yaztân* and *yazdân*, *vazlûnt* and *vazlûnd*, *havînt* and *havînd*, *hatîmûnt* and *hatîmûnd.* The sound of *t* for [Pahlavi] cannot be justified in [Pahlavi] 'earth', [Pahlavi] 'ruler', [Pahlavi] 'teacher', [Pahlavi] 'river', [Pahlavi] 'third', [Pahlavi] 'mule', [Pahlavi] 'rose', [Pahlavi] 'second', [Pahlavi] 'wheat', etc. As two sounds of this letter must, therefore, be admitted, they are represented by *t* and *ḍ*; the latter being used whenever it is deemed best (in accordance with rule 4) to trace the [Pahlavi] no further than a Persian د, as in all verbal suffixes ending in [Pahlavi] (those ending in [Pahlavi] *tô, tŏ*, being traced to Zand). It is worthy of notice that though Pahlavî generally retains a Zand [Pahlavi] unaltered, yet after [Pahlavi] *n* it always changes it into [Pahlavi], if the orthography be correct; thus [Pahlavi] *zûḍ*, Pers. زود, must not be confounded with [Pahlavi] *zand.*

A final [Pahlavi] *k* is always retained in the transliteration, as it can be shown that it was formerly pronounced in Persian [1], although it has generally been softened into ه, or dropped altogether, in later times. The old sound of *k* is still retained in a few Persian words, thus we find both سوزاك and سوزا, شپرك and شپره, etc.; and the Persian plural and abstract suffixes گان -*gân* and گی -*gî*, in which گ takes the place of ه in the original word, can only be explained by assuming an original sound of *k* for the ه. When a suffix is added to a Pahlavî word ending in [Pahlavi] *k*, the letter is rarely altered, but sometimes [Pahlavi] becomes [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi] becomes [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi] becomes [Pahlavi], etc., as we also find that [Pahlavi] is the usual form of [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi] of [Pahlavi], etc.; in all such cases, the *k* sound is retained, to avoid unnecessary confusion, as the change of form is only partially adopted, probably to expedite the writing, and the rare occurrence of [Pahlavi] *g* in the Sasanian inscriptions, indicates that the sound of *g* was not very common in Pahlavî.

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[1] This subject was fully discussed in M. J. Müller's 'Essai sur la langue pehlvie', published in the Journal Asiatique for April 1839.

In a few cases, the termination [Pahlavi] *-gân* is added to a final [Pahlavi] *k*, as in [Pahlavi] *rûbânîkgân* and [Pahlavi] *rûḍîkgân*, which forms indicate the influence of modern Persian on the copyist. The final [Pahlavi] is sometimes substituted for a final [Pahlavi], chiefly in modern MSS., as in the suffix of the past participle [Pahlavi] *-tak*, Pers. ته, ده, for [Pahlavi] *-tô*; [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; etc.; and it is occasionally substituted for a final [Pahlavi], as in [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. It may also be noticed that a final Persian ه is not always the modern representative of a Pahlavî [Pahlavi], especially when the former follows a long vowel; thus we find [Pahlavi] *panâh*, [Pahlavi] *panjâh*, [Pahlavi] *tapâh*, [Pahlavi] *châh*, [Pahlavi] *sipâh*, [Pahlavi] *mâh*, [Pahlavi] *giyâh*; [Pahlavi] *shukûh*, [Pahlavi] *gûh*; [Pahlavi] *vêh*, [Pahlavi] *zreh*, etc.

Comparing the Pahlavî abstract suffix [Pahlavi] with the terminations of the words just quoted, and especially with that of [Pahlavi] *vêh*, it may be suspected that the modern Persian abstract suffix ی *-î* has dropped an original final *h*, in the same manner as the adjective suffix ی *-î* has dropped the final *k* of the Pahlavî [Pahlavi] *-îk*. This suspicion is confirmed, to some extent, by the occurrence of several words ending in [Sasanian] *-îhî*, in the Sasanian inscriptions, which appear to be abstract nouns[1]. It may further be noticed that the Pahlavî suffixes [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi] sometimes interchange, as in [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi]. With a due regard for these facts and probabilities, the Pahlavî abstract suffix [Pahlavi] has been transliterated

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[1] Some of the Sasanian legends on gems supply further confirmation, see No. 58 and 60 of Thomas's catalogue of Sasanian gems, in the Journal R. A. S. vol. XIII. p. 424, on both which gems the word [Sasanian] *râstîhî* occurs, which can hardly be any other word than the Pahlavî [Pahlavi] *râstîh*; the legend on No. 54 is also probably [Sasanian] *râstîh*.

-*îh*. Some of the old Pâzand writers read this suffix as -*ash*, probably mistaking it for the other Persian abstract suffix ـِش -*ish*, Pahl. [Pahlavi]; but this latter is added merely to crude verbs, whereas [Pahlavi] -*îh*, Pers. ی, is a general abstract suffix.

The Pahlavî suffix [Pahlavi], just mentioned as forming abstract nouns from crude verbs, is still found occasionally in Persian, as in پَرِیشن, رویشن, کُنِشن, مَنِشن, etc.; but in most cases the final ن *n* has been dropped. In accordance with the Persian pronunciation, this suffix is transliterated -*ishn*; or -*îshn* when the vowel is expressed in Pahlavî, as in [Pahlavi] *dahîshn* and a few others.

The suffix [Pahlavi] is used for two purposes. First, for forming adverbs from adjectives (like the English suffix -*ly*), in which case, it is transliterated -*yîsh*, being taken as a Semitic suffix, see Haug's Essay on Pahlavî, p. 116; the Pâzand writers read it -*ihâ*, and might quote the Persian adverb تنها, Pahl. [Pahlavi] *tanûîhâ*, as a confirmation of their reading; but it may be noticed that this adverb is derived from a substantive, and not from an adjective like other adverbs ending in [Pahlavi]. Secondly, a suffix of the same shape is used to form the plural of a few nouns; this is also transliterated -*ihâ* by the Pâzand writers, and as it is ها -*hâ* in Persian, their reading has been followed in the texts; the following are instances of this plural form, which is rare in Pahlavî [Pahlavi] *khrafstarîhâ*, [Pahlavi] *khadûînakihâ*, [Pahlavi] *bandakîhâ*, [Pahlavi] *pôstîhâ*, [Pahlavi] *zakarîhâ*, [Pahlavi] *jâmakîhâ*, [Pahlavi] *kûstîhâ*, [Pahlavi] *naskîhâ*, etc.

The verbal suffix of the 2d person singular, which is variously written [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi], or [Pahlavi], is transliterated -*ih*, -*îh*, or *yîh*, on the assumption that it bears the same relation to the Zand suffix -*hi*, as the suffixes [Pahlavi] -*am* and [Pahlavi] -*êd*, of the 1st and 3d persons singular, bear to the Zand suffixes -*mi* and -*ti*, the final vowel *i* being dropped in the Pahlavî suffixes; thus we read *hômanih* for [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi], *hômanîh* for [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi], and *hômanyîh*

for . In *yehevûnâsh*, the suffix *-âsh* is merely the termination of the Pâz. *bâsh* = Pers. باش.

The Pahlavî often corresponds to the Persian ب, as in *âshûp*, *khûp*, *bûp*, *charp*, *shap*, *napartŏ*, *nîhîp*, *dapîrŏ*, etc. Some of these words have an alternative form in Persian, in which و is substituted for ب, and in such cases, it might be better to read *v* for , as has been done in *âv*, *zûvânîh*, *kârûvânîkân*, etc.

The two letters often correspond to the Persian و, and when the word is a compound ending in *-bâr*, *-bân*, or *-bar*, the is assumed to be the Zand final *ô* of the first member of the compound, as in *astôbân*, *asôbâr*, *hûstôbâr*, *dastôbar*, etc. The letters sometimes also correspond to the Zand *v*, and are then generally transliterated *ûb*, in accordance with the Persian example of زُبان (Z. *hizva*); thus, we read *yasharûbŏ*, *tûbân*, *rûbân*, *zûbân*, *dûbârast*, etc.; and the same reading has been adopted in *rûbâk*, *rûbishn*, *dâtôgûbân*, *gûbishn*, etc., although the last two words might perhaps be preferably read *dâtôgôbân* and *gôbishn*, in accordance with the vowels in the ancient Persian forms *gaubataiy* and *agaubatâ*. In *hû-srôb* and *srôbŏ*, where corresponds to Z. *av*, the reading *ôb* has been preferred to *ûb*.

The two letters also correspond to the Zand *v*, and are then transliterated *ûv*, as in *Chînûvat*, *zrûvânô*, *zûvânîh*, etc.; and they correspond occasionally to the Zand *w*, as in *rapîtûvîn*.

It would appear from these examples, and from *hûvarsht*, Z. *hvarshta*, that the Pahlavî writers considered the Zand *v* as a double letter. In a similar manner, they usually take the Zand

*y* as a double letter, and represent it by , or , *îy*, as in *pâḍîyâvîh*, *patîyârak*, *zîyânô*, *nîyâz*, etc.

The letter is used as a final in a few words of Semitic origin; it represents *r* in *akhar*, *zakar*, and sometimes in *mekhâr;* and it represents *l* in *al* and *val.* When a suffix is added to these words, the remains unaltered, as in *akharîch*, *zakarîh*, etc.; and the same remark may be made with regard to the final *s*, as in *âkâsîh*, *vanâskâr*, etc.

The letter *gh* is found in only a few words as *azagh*, ازغ; *aîgh*, Sas. *aîk*; *bagh*, Z. *bagha*; *1000*; *rôghan*, Z. *raoghna*; *ghal*, Chaldæo-Pahl. *kal*; *ghôzal*, 'a fowl'; *magh*, Z. *magha*; *drôgh*, Z. *draogha*; etc.

When the letter corresponds both to the Zand and the Persian *z*, it is usually transliterated *j*, as in *tajîḍ*, *rêjêḍ*, *sôjêḍ*, etc.

In reading Pahlavî, it is necessary to recollect that the writers of MSS. frequently omit a loop in the formation of compound characters, and occasionally add extra loops, thus may be either or , may be or , may be or , may be or , etc.; is used for , and probably stands for in = *ameshôspend*, although the former (which seems to be a comparatively modern form) can be read *amahraspend*, with some degree of probability. The most remarkable instances of the addition of extra loops, occur in variants of the word *shêdâân*, which has seven loops, instead of four, in one instance in the MS. H6. The compound , which is provisionally read *aîyy*, may also perhaps be best explained as *ay* with the addition of extra loops, in the words *aîyyâḍ*, ياد; *aîyyâr*, يار;

*aîyyâsak*, یاشه; etc. The compound is sometimes written , when it occurs in the Huzvâresh verb *vâdûn*, 'do, make', in order to distinguish it from the verb = *vakhdûn*, 'hold, take'; and the same kind of tail is occasionally added to , probably indicating that is to be pronounced *êḍ*, like the Zand letters . It may be further remarked that the letter *ch* is sometimes written , and occasionally like the Zand *th*; this change of *ch* into *th* accounts for the word *chîsh*, Pers. چیز, becoming *thish*, or *this*, in many Pâzand MSS.

The words and are read *yêdatô* and *yadadân*, because the *z* in Z. *yazatô* is more likely to become *d* than *j* in Pahlavî, as Z. *azem* = anc. Pers. *adam*, etc., and some words are written in Pahlavî with either *d*, or *z*, indifferently, as *farzand* and *fardand*, *zamân* and *damân*, *zamastân* and *damastân*, *zamîk* and *damîk*, etc.

In *Aûharmazd* and *Yazdakarḍ*, it is doubtful whether the is merely a contraction, or whether the original *zd*, corrupted into *dd*, has finally become . The reading *zd* has been retained in accordance with the Sasanian orthography *Aûharmazdî* and *Yazdakartî*.

The preposition is read *yîn*; and when the same compound character occurs as a verbal suffix, it is read *-yên*, being identified as the Zand suffix *-yen* of the 3d person plural of the optative mood.

In some words, *d* appears to have been substituted for *b*, thus we find both *mekadlûn* and *mekablûn;* *neked*, Heb. נְקֵבָה; and *yezderûn*, Chald. דְּבַר. It would be hazardous to assume that this substitution has arisen from any regular phonetic change; but it can be readily explained as a mere misreading of ill-formed letters, the *b* being easily mistaken for a large *d* which is a common final form of in old MSS.; when medial, the *b* has

probably first become *v* (as in for , etc.) and this has been turned at the bottom to join the following letter, which would change it into , as occurs thrice in the MS. H6 in the word for . This mechanical change of *b* into *d*, also explains the derivation of *yûdân* from Z. *yavan*, the regular form of which would be , according to the rule whereby the Zand becomes in Pahlavî.

A final ی *î*, in Persian nouns, is often traceable to a Zand *dh*, as in بوی 'scent' Z. *baodha*, پای 'foot' Z. *pâdha*, روی 'face' Z. *raodha*, etc. In Pahlavî, such words end in which is often circumflexed and must then be read *d*, in accordance with the Zand form rather than the Persian, as in *bôd* and *rôd*. And these examples have been considered sufficient authority for reading *d* in other cases, where corresponds to Pers. ی *î* and the Zand equivalent is unknown, as in *rûd* 'brass', *mûd* 'hair', *nadûk* 'good', etc.

As all the Pahlavî numerals, from 'two' to 'ten', are Semitic, it is natural to suppose that the numeral 'one' must be also of Semitic origin and traceable to Chald. חַד; this assumption is further confirmed by the traditional reading of the word, the circumflex with which it is often written, and its Sasanian orthography, all of which indicate that it contains the letter *d*, and = 'one' is therefore read *khadûk*. When this numeral is the first member of a compound word, its final is often omitted, as in *khadû-bâr*, *khadû-tâk*, *khadû-mûk*, etc. In *khadîh* 'anyone', and *khadîhân* 'any people' (traditionally *adash* and *adashân*), the numeral appears to be further abbreviated into *khad*. When the numeral 'one' is appended to a noun, like the Persian 'idhâfat of unity', it is generally represented by the cypher in old MSS., which is transliterated by the Roman numeral *I*, as in *gabrâ-I* 'a man', *nêshman-I* 'a woman', etc.; in modern MSS., this cypher is usually corrupted into the common idhâfat *i*; sometimes, in old

MSS., *ac̃* is substituted for , especially in *ac̃ chand* for *I chand*, Pers. يكچند, 'several'; and *hîch*, Pers. هيچ = ايچ 'any', may perhaps also have been originally. The Pâzand writers read *ē* for this cypher, as well as for , but whether it should be read *ac̃*, or *khad*, is very uncertain.

The habit of reading the Pâzand *yak*, or *ē*, for the Huzvâresh *khadûk*, appears to have led Pahlavî writers to the conclusion that was a proper representative of any initial *ya*, *aya*, or *aî;* thus we find , or , substituted for in *khadûf*, *khadûkânak*, *khadûînak*, etc. It is also possible that the use of the compound for an initial *y*, or *ay*, (see p. xlix) may have arisen from this substitution of *khadû*, or *khadû-I*, for *ay*. In *giyâh*, Pers. گياه, the cypher appears to have been substituted for *y*.

It will be observed that most of the words beginning with *khadû* and *khadûk*, are hybrids, partly Semitic and partly Aryan; so also are all the forms of Huzvâresh verbs with the Aryan suffixes etc. Other hybrid words are *abîḍar*, *amîḍar*, *barmanar*, *akhtmanar* and *gabrâûm*[1], in which the superfluous finals and can only be explained as the finals of the Pâzand equivalents پدر, مادر, برادر, خواهر and مردم; and in *tanid* and *dyin*, the superfluous circumflex can be best explained as merely indicative of the *d* in ديگر and اندر. In the hybrids *shēdayyâ-yazakîh* and *javîḍ-shēdayyâ-dâḍ*, the Huz. *shēdayyâ* is merely substituted for the Pâz. *dēv*. In *yashar-*

[1] This rare form occurs in the MS. $K_{20}$, in the tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô, II. 45; and it may be merely a blunder, as the proper Huzvâresh of *marḍûm* is *anshûtâ*, rather than *gabrâ*.

-*âîsh*, *yasharmôk*, *yasharûbŏ*, *fravyashar* and similar words, the in can hardly be satisfactorily explained, unless we assume that a Huzvâresh form *yashar*, Heb. יָשָׁר, has been substituted for the Zand *ash*, *asha*, *ashe*, or *ashi*; whether this explanation can be extended to = Z. *vahishtem*, is yet doubtful.

A few Pahlavi words can be read either as Semitic, or Aryan, thus may be *hânŏ* (Z. *anya*), or *akharan* (Chald. אָחֳרָן); may be *anâ* (Z. *ana*, *anâ*), or *hanâ* (Syr. ܗܳܢܳܐ); 'this' may be *aê* (Z. *aêm*, *aya*), or *hî* (Syr. ܗܝ); 'one' may be *aê* (Pâz. *ē*), or *khad* (Chald. חַד); may be *shnom* (Z. *khshnaoma*), or *shlam* (Chald. שְׁלָם); etc.

Of the Huzvâresh verbs formed with the prefix *ye*, only two retain the sound *ye* uncorrupted in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, namely, *yezbekhûn* (which owes the preservation of the *ye* sound, probably to its Pâzand equivalent commencing with the same sound) and *yezderûn*. In fourteen of these verbs, the *y* has been corrupted into *j* in the Glossary, as often happens in modern Persian (as in جادو for Z. *yâtu*, جمشید for Z. *Yima khshaêta*, etc.), although the *y* is always found in such of them as occur in the Sasanian inscriptions (see p. xxvii); these verbs, with their corrected pronunciations, are *yâtûn*, *yakhsenun*, *yâmtûn*, *yehevûn*, *yâîtûn*, *yâîtyûn*, *yetîbûn*, *yektelûn*, *yektibûn*, *yekavîmûn*, = *yemalelûn*, *yemîtûn* and *yansegûn*. Three of these verbs are also found with the initial *yek* further corrupted from *jak* into *zek*, which corruption is retained in the transliteration, because the Pahlavî letter is changed; these verbs are *zektelûn*, *zektîbûn* and, more rarely, *zekavîmûn*. In four other Huzvâresh verbs, the prefix *ye* has been corrupted into *da* in the Glossary; these verbs, with their corrected

pronunciations, are *yekhabkhûn*, *yehabûn*, *yezbemûn* and *yedrûn*; in , the circumflex may perhaps have been introduced to indicate that its Pâzand equivalent, , begins with a *d*; but the corruption of *y* into *d*, in the other three verbs is not readily explained, unless we assume that the *y*, corrupted into *j*, was further altered into *z*, whence the final step to *d* is easy, either by phonetic change, or by misreading the letter.

It may further be noticed, with regard to Huzvâresh verbs, that the *û* in the final syllable of the crude verb, is not always expressed; thus, we always find *hêmnun* and *yakhsenun*, and very often *yemalelun*. In the Dîn-kard, several of the other verbs occur with the short *u* unexpressed in the last syllable; and the same is the case, in the Sasanian inscriptions, with regard to Semitic verbs ending in *-îtun*, such as *ramîtun*, *sazîtun*, *shadîtun*, *khazîtun* and *havîtun*.

It has been already mentioned that *v* is the usual representative of the Chaldee ע (see p. xxxv-vi), but in a few cases, the Pahlavî *g*, or *gh*, appears to be used for the same purpose, as in *tîshgâ*, 'nine', Chald. תִּשְׁעָה; and *ghal*, 'to', Chald עַל; see also *zôpamaman*, Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. p. 243.

These remarks will probably be sufficient to point out the difficulties which any systematic transliterater must be prepared to overcome, and to show the mode of treating them adopted in this volume. The only exceptions which have been made to the general rules, are in the following words: the idhâfat *i* instead of *î*, *dînô* instead of *dênô*, *gûnak* instead of *gônak*, *mînishn* instead of *mênishn*, and other words in which *mîn*, standing for Z. *main*, ought to be read *mên* according to the Pâzand rule usual in other words,

# III.

## The Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, its contents, and probable age.

The visions in heaven and hell which are related in the book of Ardâ Vîrâf, the pious Pârsî priest who is said to have gone, when still living, from this world to the realm of the dead, to bring an account of the fate of our souls after death, are still read with the greatest interest by the Pârsî community, and firmly believed in, especially by the female part of it. This is evidenced by the fact that there exist several Persian versions of the work in prose as well as in verse, and Gujarâti translations to make it accessible to all classes of the Zoroastrian community (see p. xxi). It was occasionally read before large assemblies of Zoroastrians, the effect of which is thus described by Destur Hoshangji: 'It speaks volumes both for the effective style 'of the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak and for the implicit faith which the Pârsîs 'placed in what was written therein, that a few years ago, when the 'book used to be read before them, overpowered by consciousness of 'guilt, the punishment for which was so terrifically described, they, but 'especially the gentler sex, used to weep. It was a most affecting spec-'tacle to witness the awakening conscience exhibiting itself in trickling 'tears'. At the same time Destur Hoshangji, contrasting the present state of the Pârsî community, regarding matters of religious belief, with that in which it was about twenty-five years ago, remarks: 'The feel-'ings of Pârsîs, even a century ago, would have been much offended, 'had they been told that the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak was nothing else but 'a mythological work. In our days of progress, not only a professor 'of another creed and religion, but even a Pârsî Destur is permitted 'to say so'.

In Europe it also excited considerable interest when its principal contents were, however imperfectly, first made known by J. A. Pope's English translation in 1816, which was not based upon the original

Pahlavî text, but on some of the later Persian versions (see p. xix). It is principally the description of hell and of some of the punishments awarded to the wicked which bears occasionally a striking resemblance to the accounts to be found in *Dante's Inferno*, though it cannot be supposed for a moment, that the book was actually known to the great Italian poet. As the Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak contains, on the whole, much that corresponds to Christian notions of paradise and hell, some scholars have not hesitated to trace it to a Christian source. This they thought to have discovered in the so-called '*Ascensio Isajæ vatis*, i. e. the ascension of the prophet Isaiah, one of the many apocryphal works which have reached our time only in an Ethiopic version as preserved by the Christian church in Abyssinia [1]. But since the comparison which had been made between this Christian work and the book of Ardâ Vîrâf, was based only on Pope's translation of the latter, which is by no means an adequate rendering of the original, wholly erroneous conclusions were drawn from it. There is, in fact, not a single circumstance which would justify us in deriving the visions of Ardâ Vîrâf from those contained in the Ascension of the prophet Isaiah; but all tends to show that there exists not the slightest historical connection between them [2]. The only points in which they coincide are that Isaiah, as well as Ardâ Vîrâf, journeyed through the heavenly regions, the splendor of which gradually increases, and that there are thrones, crowns and beautiful clothing awarded to the souls of the pious. But in all the numerous other particulars there is a great difference. In the

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[1] The Ethiopic version has been published, along with Latin and English translations, under the title: '*Ergata 'Isâyeyâs nabîye* Ascensio Isaiæ vatis, opusculum pseudepigraphum, multis abhinc seculis, ut videtur, deperditum, nunc autem apud Aethiopas compertum, et cum versione latina anglicanaque publici juris factum a Ricardo Laurence LL. D. etc. Oxonii 1819.

[2] This has been shown at full length in Haug's Essay 'Über das Ardâi Vîrâf nâmeh und seinen angeblichen Zusammenhang mit dem christlichen Apocryphon, die Himmelfahrt des Jesaia betitelt. Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrgang 1870. I. 3. pag. 327—364.

visions of the Jewish prophet, there are seven heavens mentioned, which are situated one above the other, the seventh being the uppermost and highest; but in the Pahlavî text of the Arḍâ Vîrâf there are only four heavens mentioned, the first three being the abode of those good and pious souls who had not professed the Zoroastrian religion, whereas the fourth, the *Garôḍmân*, is reserved for the Zoroastrians. It is true, in one of the Persian versions and in Pope's English translation which is based upon it, there are seven heavens mentioned; but this is an adaptation to Mohamedan and Jewish notions which were strange to the Sasanian times in which alone, as we shall see, the book of Arḍâ Vîrâf was composed. In the Ascension of Isaiah, there are rulers mentioned over each heaven; but in the Arḍâ-Vîrâf nothing of this kind is found, nor are the angels on the right and the left side of the throne, which constantly occur in the former, mentioned in the latter. Isaiah does not descend to hell, nor does he give any description of the infernal regions; he only sees how diabolical powers fight with one another on the firmament, but he does not mention the particular punishment of any crimes and sins committed on earth. Besides, the religious ideas in the two books differ widely. In the Ascension all is thoroughly Christian, in the book of Vîrâf all is Zoroastrian. If the Ascension had been the source of the visions of Vîrâf, we should find some allusions to the Christian religion; but as not the slightest trace of them can be discovered, we may take it for granted that both works are quite independent of one another, and that the book of Vîrâf has certainly not been derived from any Christian source.

We shall arrive at the same result, if we compare this book with other works treating of visions in the other world, whether they be of Jewish, or Christian, origin. In the old Jewish literature, the most remarkable production of this kind is the 'History of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi (מעשה רבי יהושע בן לוי)' [1], which describes a journey undertaken by the said Rabbi (in the third century of our era) through heaven

[1] See A. Jellinek *Bet-hamidrash* II. pag. XVIII—XXI and pag. 48—53.

and hell. In paradise there are seven houses mentioned, in which the different classes of the souls of the pious reside; but they do not correspond, in any way, to the heavens mentioned in the book of Vîrâf; neither does the description he gives of the houses in hell, in which the souls of the wicked are confined, bear any resemblance to the punishments in Vîrâf's hell.

The originality of the visions of Arḍâ Vîrâf may be regarded as being beyond doubt. They are so thoroughly Zoroastrian that only a professor of that religion can have seen them. This will appear from a brief summary of the contents of the work, with such remarks as will be necessary for illustrating them.

The Arḍâ-Vîrâf nâmak which has been divided, in this edition, into 101 chapters, begins with a long and detailed introduction which occupies the first three chapters. It is just this part in which some of the Pâzand and Persian versions differ so considerably from the Pahlavî original as published here (see pag. xii-xix). The account which is here given of the state of the Zoroastrian religion in the times previous to the mission of Arḍâ Vîrâf, and of the reasons which induced the Magian priesthood to send him to the other world, is highly interesting. The Zoroastrian religion was during the first three centuries after its foundation by Zarathus'tra Spitama, in its purity. After the lapse of this period, the devil induced the wicked and accursed Alexander, who came from the west to destroy the residence of the Persian kings, to burn the sacred books which had been preserved in the archives of the residence and to kill the priests and learned men and other men of distinction. In consequence of this invasion by Alexander the Macedonian, and his destruction of Persepolis, the whole political order of Iran was reversed; many wars ensued, and the Zoroastrian religion decayed. Many religious creeds and sects arose, and there was none who knew the religion until, under Shâpûr II, the celebrated Adarbâd Mahrespand appeared, who proved the truth of the Zoroastrian religion by undergoing the ordeal of having melted brass poured upon his breast without being burnt by it. But notwithstanding such a

miracle, the doubts which existed as to the truth of the Zoroastrian religion, were not wholly removed. Then the spiritual guides of the Zoroastrian community, the Desturs, assembled to devise a new means for testing the truth of their religion and re-establishing it on a firm base. They resolved upon sending one from among them 'from the land of the living to the land of the dead', to ask the heavenly spirits whether, or not, the different religious ceremonies performed by the priests had the desired effect. Now a large assembly was convened at the celebrated temple of the Frobâg fire. From the number of the priests who were assembled, the sum total of which is not stated in the original, seven were elected. These seven selected three out of their number, and these three, one by the name of Vîrâf who is also called the Nishapurian. Vîrâf accepted the dangerous and unpleasant mission to the other world only upon the condition that they should cast lots to ascertain whether he should be destined to enter on such an errand.

Vîrâf had seven sisters who were married to him according to the Zoroastrian custom of the next-of-kin marriage which was regarded as one of the most meritorious works to be achieved by a Zoroastrian. These came crying and weeping before the assembly to beseech the desturs not to send their brother and husband, their only support, on such a dangerous errand. They were comforted and promised that he should be delivered to them after the lapse of seven days. Then a place was selected for him at a certain distance from water, fire, etc. on which occasion he was treated as if he were already dead. After all preparations for the great journey had been made by washing his hands, putting on new clothes, etc., Vîrâf drank three cups filled with a narcotic, called *mang* (*bañga* in Zand), and fell asleep on the carpet on which he was sitting. Destur Hoshangji makes the following remarks on this draught:

'The administration of these doses of *Mang* mixed up with wine, 'causing a supernatural sleep of seven days duration, reminds one of 'the custom of *Dhattûra*, or stramonium, eating in India, which is well

'known in this country, particularly in Gujarât. It is believed there 'that when on a weekday, particularly on Saturday which is sacred to 'Hanumân, a few seeds of Dhattûra are given to a child of about seven 'years of age (it being then considered innocent), he or she will, if 'asked, prophesy all future events through its effect, and will even 'prescribe remedies for any difficulty. For instance, if a woman should 'be desirous of knowing whether she would ever be in the family way, 'and were to ask the Dhattûra eater about it, he would reply to her, 'that she would give birth to a child, if she did such and such a thing, 'or if she performed Yâtrâ (pilgrimage), or offered sacrifice, or that she 'would never become a mother, as the case might be'.

'The child to whom the Dhattûra is given, must be one who is 'born in an extraordinary manner. Thus, instead of being born with the 'head first, as is usual with the birth of children, it must be born 'with the feet first. One evening previous to taking the Dhattûra seed, 'two, or more, women go to the tree from which the seed is to be taken, 'and give it an invitation thus: 'come to-morrow into the body of such "and such a one and give all answers truly'; whereupon they pour 'some water on the tree. On the next day, early in the morning, they 'go and take the seeds off the tree, and give them to the child. Some 'times, if they be afraid of giving such a poisonous drug to a child, 'they administer it to an idiotic credulous man'.

'It is remarkable to note here, that the notion of seeing a celestial 'orb through the medium of somniferous or narcotic drugs, was prevalent 'amongst the ancient Persians for a long time, as we find in later 'books. For instance, in the Zartosht nâmeh there is mentioned amongst 'other miracles of the prophet Zoroaster that he once consecrated a 'cup of wine, and milk and fruit, and gave the consecrated wine to 'king Gushtâsp to drink; the king, then, was asleep for three days, 'during which he saw in heaven, amongst others, his own paradise and 'met there other celestial bodies at which he greatly rejoiced'.

All the time Vîrâf was sleeping, his seven sisters and the Desturs kept watch around him, recited Avesta and Zand and chanted the

Gâthas to protect him on his perilous journey. On the seventh day Vîrâf awoke. He ordered a skilful writer to write down all he saw, in heaven and hell, during a seven days' journey.

The account of the journey commences with the fourth chapter. In the first night Vîrâf was received by Sraosha and the angel of the fire, Âtarô Yazad, who acted as his guides during the whole journey. Being regarded as dead, he had two guides, and not only one; since a corpse is, according to the Zoroastrian law, always to be carried by two men. Taking three steps, he reached the Chinvat bridge, which separates heaven from hell, and this world from the other world. Here he saw the soul of a pious man sitting, whose fate he now describes. The description is identical with that one to be found in the Hâḍôkht Nask (see Appendix II, pag. 279—293), the Vishtâsp Nask and the Mainyô-i Khard, and is evidently taken from the first, or some similar Zand source. The most prominent feature in it, is the appearance of a beautiful virgin [1] who represents the good thoughts, words and deeds of the soul. This virgin appears to be the better half of the soul which remains in the invisible regions whilst the other part resides, endowed

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[1] This beautiful maid has probably given origin to the Huris, or celestial virgins, of the Mohamedan paradise. It is true, the good works appear, according to Mohamedan notions, in the shape of a man who is splendidly dressed and perfumed (Mohamedanische Eschatologie, übersetzt von Dr. M. Wolff. Leipzig 1872. pag. 64). But the Huri, who exists in heaven long before the arrival of her husband, and is ready to receive him as soon as he has reached his destination, does also represent nothing but the better half of the soul. She conducts her husband to his celestial abode, where he then finds thousands of virgins who do not appear to be regarded as proper Huris (Mohamedan. Eschatologie pag. 201—203). As the idea of the appearance of a virgin to the soul of the deceased had been very common among the Zoroastrians already in ancient times, it is not to be wondered at, if Mohamed on his travels heard something about it. Such a virgin suited exactly his paradise; but as celestial joys and pleasures appeared rather dull to the Arabian prophet without sensual enjoyments, he converted this better half of the soul, its invisible root and counterpart, into a wife!

with a body, in the corporeal world. It is probably identical with the Fravashi. That this virgin was believed to exist, before the soul entered the body, clearly follows from the circumstance of her telling the pious man that her original beauty had been increased by his good works.

Vîrâf passed the Chinvat bridge with the assistance of his two guides and under tho protection of some other angels, such as Mithra, Rashnu razis'ta, etc. His guides declared themselves ready to show him the pleasures of paradise, and the terrors of hell (ch. 5). The first place he came to, after having passed the bridge, was the abode of the *Hamēstagân* i. e. the ever stationary. As their good and evil works are equal, they must always remain in the same condition, until the day of resurrection; for their good works are strong enough to prevent them from going to hell, and the evil ones too strong to permit their passage to heaven (ch. 6).

Now he arrives at the different paradises. Their number in the Zoroastrian writings is generally four. The first which is called *Humat* is in the star track; the second called *Hûkht* in the moon track, and the third called *Huvarsht* in the atmosphere of the sun; the fourth is *Garôḍmân* (*garô-demâna* in Zand). The souls which Vîrâf met in the first three paradises, were sitting on thrones and shining with the radiance of the stars, the moon and the sun, respectively. In the first two places are those who have done much good without having been devout and pious Zoroastrians. In the atmosphere of the sun are those monarchs and rulers who do not appear to have been professors of the Zoroastrian creed (ch. 7—9).

The Garôḍmân is more fully described than the three preceding heavens. It is the abode of the pious Zoroastrians of all classes, who had recited the prescribed prayers, and completely conformed to the Zoroastrian law. On entering this heaven, he is called upon to taste 'immortality', or better, the draught which imparts immortality and makes the soul oblivious of all worldly cares (see note 1 on pag. 159 of the translation). Here the angel of the fire reproached him for having put green wood on the fire, which is forbidden in the Zoroastrian religion,

as all the wood, with which the sacred fire is fed, must be quite dry (ch. 10).

Now the archangel Vohuman received him, and brought him before Ahuramazda, the Ameshaspentas, and the Fravashis of Zarathus'tra Spitama, Kavi Vîshtâspa, and other promoters of the Zoroastrian religion. Ahuramazda then ordered his two guides to show him heaven and hell (11). He is now led through the different sections of Garôḍmân. In the first place he meets the souls of the liberal, since liberality is regarded as the highest virtue by the Zoroastrians (comp. Mainyô-i Khard 37, 4.), which circumstance explains the princely donations made by the Pârsîs, up to the present day, for public purposes. Next to the souls who practised liberality when living, come those who had chanted the Gâthas, and repeated the prescribed prayers; then follow those who had contracted next-of-kin marriages, which is regarded as one of the most meritorious works by the Zoroastrians. After these come the souls of pious rulers, and monarchs (probably of the Zoroastrian creed), then those of the speakers of truth, since truthfulness is regarded as one of the greatest virtues (12).

After having seen the rewards given for liberality, piety, next-of-kin marriages, just ruling and headship, and truthful speaking, he was shown a number of female souls who seem to have been kept apart from the males. They had honoured water, fire, earth, trees, in short, the good creation, and behaved in every respect as pious Zoroastrians (13).

Now follows the bulk of Zoroastrians divided into four classes, or castes: priests, the performers of the Izeshne ceremony; warriors, with whom those are classed who killed many noxious animals, such as frogs, lizards, serpents, ants, flies, etc., which is considered a very meritorious work by the Zoroastrians; the agriculturists and artizans (14). A separate abode is assigned to shepherds who fed sheep and quadrupeds, and protected them. There are further especially noticed the souls of householders and justices who had made a desolate place prosperous, and carried out works of irrigation; the souls of the faithful, the teachers and inquirers, and those of interceders and peace-seekers,

since intercession and mediation is a very meritorious work with the Pârsîs (15).

The rewards of all these classes of happy and blessed souls are not specified. They are all in great splendour, sit on thrones, or walk in pleasure and joyfulness, are dressed in clothing embroidered with gold and silver, etc.

Vîrâf, after having thus wandered through the various sections of Garôḍmân, was led by his two guides to a great gloomy river, which was the tears of those who make lamentation for the departed; for it is not allowed to lament the dead, as it does them harm (16).

Vîrâf was led back to the Chinvat bridge. Here he saw the wicked soul which wandered over the place where the life went forth. It was accompanied by a very ugly damsel representing its evil thoughts, words and deeds. She appears to have been its counterpart before entering the body, a kind of evil Fravashi, since her original ugliness had been increased by the wickedness of the soul to which she belonged (compare the same idea regarding the soul of the good). This soul then took three steps through the place of evil thought *(dushmat)*, that of evil word *(dushûkht)*, and that of evil deeds *(dush-hûvarsht)*, and reached hell by the fourth step (17).

Now he describes hell. It is dark and gloomy, cold and hot, and full of stench, and noxious creatures. No one sees the other; everyone thinks he is alone (18).

After this first preliminary description of hell, or rather of a part of it, there follow a series of punishments which were inflicted for various crimes and offences, many of them being described in great detail. The following crimes are deemed worthy of punishment: sodomy (19); approaching water and fire on the part of a woman during her menstruation (20); murder of a pious man i. e. a Zoroastrian (21); intercourse with a menstruous woman (22); talking when dining, since this is strictly forbidden in the Zoroastrian religion (23); adultery on the part of a woman (24); walking without shoes (25); scorning her husband on the part of a woman (26); cheating in weight and measure

(27); misrule (28); slander (29); unlawful slaughtering of cattle and sheep, since these animals are only to be slaughtered according to a certain rite (30); greediness and avarice (31).

In all these chapters no particular person is mentioned, on whom the punishment is inflicted; but now follows the name of a lazy man, Davânôs, who had much wealth and power, and whose only good work was that he once cast a bundle of grass, with his right foot, before a ploughing ox (32).

Now follow again various punishments for particular crimes and offences, such as: lying (33); throwing hairs into the fire (34); sorcery (35); apostacy (36); neglect of water and fire (37); polluting water and fire by bringing bodily refuse and dead matter to it (38); defrauding labourers of their hire (39); speaking falsehood (40); use of public warm baths (41).

The series of punishments for particular crimes and sins is again interrupted by the account of people who were always crying becauce they had no legitimate father (42); and then continues as follows: not acknowledging one's own children, on the part of a father (43); infanticide (44); perjury and extortion (45); acquisition of wealth by dishonest means (46); apostacy and deceit (47); killing, ill-treating and neglecting of dogs (48); false measuring of land (49); removal of boundary stones (50); making of false covenants (51); breach of promise (52).

After having witnessed the severe punishments which were inflicted in hell for the crimes and offences mentioned, Vîrâf was carried back to the mountain Chakât-i-Dâîtîh [1] below which the Chinvat bridge is situated, into a desert, and shown hell in the earth (53). Whether this hell is identical with that one already described in the preceding chapters, or different from it, does not seem to be very clear. But it appears from the description which is given in the 54th chapter, that it was considered as somewhat different, as may be concluded from the designation 'darkest hell', whereas that hell which was described pre-

[1] See *Pand-nâmak-i Âdarbâd Mâraspand*, by Sheriarjee Dadabhoy, pag. 80.

viously may be taken as hell in general. This 'darkest hell' is described as a very dark pit full of stench, and filled with an endless number of souls, everyone of which itself to be alone. This description agrees, on the whole, very well with that one given of hell in ch. 18. In the 'darkest hell' one expects to find the greatest criminals and sinners; but the crimes and offences for which punishments are inflicted are frequently the same, as those which were punished in hell in general; some are however different. The crimes here mentioned are the following: mortal sins, such as extinction of the Bahrâm fire (which is the most sacred of all), destruction of a bridge over a rapid river, speaking falsehood and false evidence, rebellion and anarchy (55); misappropriation of religious endowments (56); lamentation and weeping (57); washing oneself in large standing waters, fountains and streams (58); giving no milk to an infant, on the part of a woman (59); adultery on the part of man (60); unbelief (61); faithlessness and spitefulness on the part of a woman (62); disobeying to, and abusing a husband (63); pregnancy from other men, and destruction of the child (64); distressing the parents, and asking for no forgiveness (65); slander (66); bad administration of a city (67).

Now follows an account of a husband and his wife; the husband went to heaven, the wife to hell for having practised idolworship; she reproached him that he did not guide her to heaven; her only punishment in hell is to be in darkness and stench, whilst he sits in heaven full of shame (68).

Then are again punishments mentioned for the following crimes and offences: adultery on the part of a woman (69); abandoning the husband (70); sodomy, and seduction of the wives of others (71); not heeding menstruation (72);' beautifying of faces and wearing of the hair of others (73); unlawful slaughtering of beasts, cattle and sheep (74); muzzling of the mouths of beasts and ploughing cattle (75); preparing of food during the time of menstruation (76); overworking and ill-treating of beasts (77); pregnancy from a strange man (78); taking bribes, and false justice (79); keeping short weights, bushels and other small

measures (80); adultery on the part of a woman (81); abusiveness (82); concealing of meat from the husband and eating it (83); poisoning (84); adultery on the part of a woman (85); violation of a next-of-kin marriage, on the part of a woman (86); nursing other children and not giving milk to one's own child (87); seduction of the wives of others (88); selfishness (89); telling lies (90); false judgment (91); keeping back benefits from mankind (92); inhospitality towards travellers, and charging money for what they use (93); emaciating of children by not giving them milk (94); leaving one's own child without milk, and running after a strange man (95); defrauding the earth of the seed which is due to her (96); speaking of falsehood (97); eating of dead refuse, and killing of a water-otter (98); rebellion and revolution (99).

At last Vîrâf saw Aṇrô-mainyus', the Evil spirit, who always mocked and ridiculed the wicked (100). He was then carried back to Ahura-mazda, admonished by him, and entrusted with a message to the Mazdayasnians, that the only way to heaven was the keeping of the Zoroastrian religion, and that all is perishable and becomes dust except he who, in the world, repeats the Ashem-vohû formula[1], and performs duties and good works, that is to say, he alone is privileged to rise on the day of resurrection. Thereupon was Vîrâf carried back to his place (101).

Regarding the nature of the punishments which are described, there is considerable variety. Darkness and stench are shared by all the inhabitants of the infernal regions; but there are particular means of punishment besides, such as: noxious animals of all kinds, like frogs, snakes, ants, worms; rain, snow, hail, heat and cold; devouring and drinking of nasty, filthy and impure matter, such as dead refuse, menstruous discharge, blood, eating of one's own flesh and brains. Further dreadful corporal punishments are employed, many of which are probably only an imitation of those which were actually used in Persia. Such ones are the following: hanging with the head down-

[1] On its importance see the 1st chapter of the Hâdôkht Nask.

wards; cutting out the tongue; flogging with darting serpents; breaking and separating of limbs; being torn by dogs, pricked by arrows, spurs, stones, etc.; cooking and frying of the body; plunging in mud and stench; eyes scooped out; trampled upon by demons; tongue scraped with a wooden peg; being dashed from side to side; etc. Many sinners are sentenced to useless and painful occupations, such as carrying a mountain on the back through snow; measuring dust and ashes, and eating them; standing up in hell with the body of a serpent and a human head; digging into a hill with the breasts, or with the fingers; scraping one's own body and face, and gashing the breast with an iron comb; licking a hot oven, and burning the hand under it.

In many cases there is a combination of punishments. For instance, scraping one's own body and face with an iron comb, and digging an iron hill with the breasts, as a punishment for a woman who gave no milk to her own infant, but nursed other children through a desire for wealth (87).

Very frequently the punishments are in accordance with the crimes and offences which have been committed by the sinners who are punished. Those who cheated in weight and measure, are measuring dust and ashes, and eating them (27). Those who muzzled the mouths of beasts, are lying under the feet of cattle, their bellies being torn and their bones being broken (75). Those who slaughtered unlawfully cattle and sheep, have their limbs broken and separated (30). Those who spoke false, have their tongues cut out (97). Slanderers have their tongues gnawed by serpents (66). Those who had improper sexual intercourse and seduced women, are suspended from a gibbet with the head downwards, having sexual intercourse in this posture, whilst semen is being poured into the mouth, ears and nose (88). The judge who gave false decisions, is sentenced to slay his own child and eat its brains (91). The wife who has been disobedient to her husband and abused him, is licking a hot oven, and has her hand burnt under it (63). Women who were starving their own children by giving them no milk, or killing them, have generally to dig a hill with their breasts (44. 78. 87). Those who have

been much lamenting and weeping, have the head cut off, and the tongue keeps crying (57). Adulterous women have their bodies gnawed by noxious animals (24); or have their tongues cut away, and eyes scooped out, being at the same time infested by noxious creatures (81); or have an iron coating on the body, the mouth being turned back to a hot oven (85). Unbelievers eat their own excrement (61).

These instances may suffice to show that the numerous punishments which are described, are not chosen at random, but bear some relation to the crimes and offences for which they are inflicted. It is the idea of the strictest justice which pervades the whole description of hell. No crime or offence, let it be moral, or ceremonial, or a mere misdemeanour, according to Zoroastrian notions, is left unpunished; but at the same time, no good work, however trifling it might have been, is left unrewarded even in hell. The lazy Davânôs who suffers in hell for not having used his great wealth and power for the relief of others, is rewarded for the single good work he did when living. With his right foot he cast once a bundle of grass before a ploughing ox; hence it was free from punishment, whilst his body was gnawed by a noxious creature (32). A lustful man who had often gone to married women, had with his right foot killed frogs, ants, snakes and scorpions; whilst his sinful body was placed into a brazen caldron, his right foot remained outside (60).

Regarding the arrangement of the crimes and offences mentioned, there is nowhere any system, or plan, perceptible. All are thrown together, the most heinous crimes may be followed by trifling offences. Several crimes and offences are mentioned more than once, for instance adultery (24. 60. 62. 69. 81. 85. 88. 95.), infanticide (44. 64. 78.), nursing other children (87. 94.); but each time the wording is different as well as the punishment.

The contents of the Arḍâ-Vîrâf nâmak exhibit a fair specimen of the practical working of the Zoroastrian religion and code of law. We learn from it that the Zoroastrian morality differs in many points from the Jewish and Christian one, although those actions which are con-

sidered crimes according to our codes of law, are in almost all cases viewed in the same light by the Zoroastrians. We may thus divide all the crimes and sins which are mentioned, into two principal classes, viz. 1) those which are regarded as such by the Christians also; 2) those which are taken for sins only from a Zoroastrian point of view, being a violation of the precepts of the Zoroastrian religion.

1. Of the crimes and offences of the first class, which have been, or are still, punished according to our codes of law, are the following enumerated: 1) murder which is, however, confined to the killing of a Zoroastrian, as it is left undecided whether the slaughter of a man of another creed, especially of an idol-worshipper, is regarded as a punishable crime[1] (21); 2) adultery on the part of men, as well as on that of women (24. 60. 62. 69. 81. 85. 88. 95.); 3) infanticide (44. 64. 78.); 4) poisoning (84); 5) sorcery (35); 6) sodomy (19. 71.); 7) cheating in weight and measure (27. 80.); 8) breach of promise, whereof it is expressly stated that it makes no difference whether the promise should have been made to a Zoroastrian, or a non-Zoroastrian (52); 9) telling lies and deceiving (33. 55. 90. 97.); 10) false covenants (51); 11) slander and calumny (29. 40. 66.); 12) perjury (45); 13) dishonest appropriation of wealth (46); 14) taking bribes (79. 91.); 15) keeping back the wages of laborers (39); 16) misappropriation of religious property (56); 17) removal of a boundary-stone (50); 18) turning people out of their property (49); 19) misadministration and defrauding (67); 20) apostacy and heresy (36. 47.); 21) rebellion (99). There are further condemnable from a religious point of view: 1) abandoning the husband (70); 2) not acknowledging one's children, on the part of a father (43); 3) cruelty towards subjects, on the part of a ruler (28); 4) avarice (31); 5) laziness (32); 6) illiberality and egotism (89); 7) envy (92).

[1] According to the genuine Zoroastrian doctrine, which may be gathered from the Gâthas, it appears to have been meritorious to kill those who did not conform to the Zoroastrian religion, the so-called *dregvañtô* (Yas. 31, 18.). But the Zoroastrians do not appear to have converted as many by the sword as the Mohamedans; though the Magian priesthood has always been more or less fanatical.

2. The following actions are regarded as sins, punishable in hell, from a merely Zoroastrian point of view: 1) not heeding the laws regarding menstruation, on the part of women (72), by touching water or fire (20), or preparing food (76); 2) pollution of water and fire by washing in standing, or running waters, or throwing impure matter into it, as well as into fire (34. 37. 38. 58.); 3) intentional extinction of fire in general (37), and that of the most sacred fire in particular (55); 4) use of public warm baths (41); 5) unlawful and unnecessary slaughter of cattle and sheep (30. 74.); 6) ill-treatment of animals of the good creation, such as cattle, sheep, dogs, water-otters, by starving, beating, or killing them (48. 75. 77. 98.); 7) carrying a dead body alone (38); 8) destruction of a bridge over a rapid river (55); 9) intercourse with a menstruous woman (22); 10) eating when talking, and muttering no grace (23); 11) eating the grain which is destined to be sown (96); 12) devouring dead refuse (98); 13) disregard of the poor and good (68), principally to travellers by not granting them what they ask for, or charging for what is given them (93); 14) distressing parents, and obstinacy (65); 15) lamentation and weeping (57); 16) disobedience of a wife to her husband, stealing property from him (63), concealing meat from him and eating it (83), and abusing him (26); 17) beautifying of faces, and wearing the hair of others (73); 18) nursing other children (87. 94.), and leaving her own child without milk (59. 95.); 19) violation of a next-of-kin marriage, on the part of a woman (86); 20) walking without shoes (25); 21) unbelief in the religion of Ahuramazda (61); 22) idol-worship (68).

After having mentioned all the crimes and evil actions which are rewarded with a place in hell, we may also cast a summary glance on the virtues and good actions by which heaven is gained (12—15). There are the following to be noticed: 1) liberality; 2) piety and observance of the religious rites; 3) next-of-kin marriages; 4) just government; 5) truth; 6) obedience; 7) keeping of fire, water, etc.; 8) killing of noxious creatures; 9) tending of sheep; 10) making desolate places prosperous; 11) irrigation; 12) teaching; 13) intercession and mediation for friends,

Of the meritorious works which are here enumerated there is one at which a Christian reader may be rather startled to find among their number. This is the next-of-kin marriage, which was in ancient times contracted not only between cousins, but between brothers and sisters, and fathers and daughters (see pag. 149, note 1). In our codes of law, marriages of this kind are strictly forbidden, as sexual intercourse between the nearest relatives is a punishable crime. The circumstance that it is so much recommended to the Zoroastrians, and such high merit attached to it, seems to indicate, that it has been revolting to the feelings of many Zoroastrians, and that they obeyed the religious commandment rather against their own will. Now it has fallen into disuse altogether, as there are only marriages between cousins permitted. This institution appears to be closely connected with the foundation of the religion. The purity in thoughts, words and deeds, which is the chief principle of Zoroastrian morality, was best preserved and propagated in the race, as they believed, when those who had a common origin were joined together for the same purpose.

Now the question arises as to the author of the book and the time in which it was written. From the notice contained in 3, 22—24. and 4, 1., one may conclude that there existed an account of the visions of Arḍâ Vîrâf which was believed to have been dictated by himself. But the whole contents and the wording of the introduction, at the end of which the passages in question are to be found, are such as to exclude the assumption that our work might be that original account. It is, however, not improbable that it may be based on a more original account. The introduction, which in the present work fills three chapters of some length, is certainly a later addition. Besides this one there exist two others which differ considerably from it in some points. The one which is prefixed to a Pâzand and Sanskrit version (see Introduction I. pag. xii-xiv), connects Arḍâ Vîrâf with the King Gushtâsp under whose reign Zoroaster flourished, and places the event after the prophet's death. The other opens one of the Persian versions (see Introduction I. pag. xv-xix), and connects Arḍâ Vîrâf with an event in the reign of Ardashîr

Bâbagân, viz. the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion, which is described with such detail that we may safely trace this account to an old historical, or legendary, source.

From these different introductions to our work, it appears to follow that the original account of the visions themselves had, in all probability, no introduction at all, and since no time was stated at which they took place, each subsequent author thought himself justified in connecting them with any of the great meetings of the Zoroastrian priesthood which had been convened for the purpose of settling matters of faith and ceremony, or reviving the religion.

If we consider the introduction which opens the Pahlavî text as published here, as that one which was prefixed to the earliest edition of the work, there can be no doubt that Ardâ Vîrâf must have been living after the time of Âdarbâḍ Mâhraspand; for he is mentioned as being anterior to Vîrâf (1, 16, 33, 34.). Now the celebrated Zoroastrian divine lived at the time of Shâpûr II, the son of Hormazd (A. D. 309—379)[1], as we learn from a statement contained in the Dîn-karḍ (see the note on pag. 144, 145). Vîrâf might, therefore, have been flourishing in the 5th or 6th century A.D., or at least before the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty in the seventh century. As he is called 'the Nishapurian' (1, 35.), and there is several times a commentator on the Avesta mentioned by the same name (see pag. 148, note 1), it is not improbable that both are the same.

At whatever time Vîrâf may have been living, the book containing his visions belongs undoubtedly to the Sasanian times. There is absolutely nothing in it which might be adduced as an argument against this assertion, though we cannot exactly settle the time when it was written, nor the name of the author who wrote it.

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[1] See *Mordtmann* 'Die Chronologie der Sasaniden' in the Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1871, pag. 11.

# IV.

## Gôsht-i Fryânô.

The tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô gives the details of the story of the *Yôishtô yô Fryananãm* mentioned in the Âbân Yasht 81—83, and the Fravardîn Yasht 120. It relates that Akht, the sorcerer, went to the city of Enigma-expounders, and threatened to destroy it and its inhabitants, unless some of them were able to solve thirty-three enigmas which he would ask them. Gôsht-i Fryânô was recommended as the best solver of enigmas, and after Akht had vainly endeavoured to get him to defile himself by involuntary contact with dead matter, whereby he would have lost the assistance of the holy spirits, Gôsht-i Fryânô prepares to solve the thirty-three enigmas, most of which are of a trivial character.

By deciding that a worldly paradise is better than a heavenly one, he avoids a snare set by the sorcerer, who was prepared to dispatch him at once to the heavenly paradise, if he considered it preferable, as had been already done in the case of nine hundred of the Magi, and the nine daughters of Spîtâma. His further replies are: that a dog is taller sitting than standing; that a sparrow walks without stepping; that a cock's tooth is horny and its horn fleshy; that a small knife is better than little eating; that wealth with piety is full, poverty with piety is half full, and poverty with wickedness is empty; that men wish to conceal old age, but cannot; that the man who neglects his duties, wishes to return to life when he meets the demon of death; what are the periods of gestation of various animals; that a man who is safe, contented and rich, lives in the greatest pleasure and comfort; that a king is like unto Aûharmazd and the archangels; that food acquired by honest exertion is the most savory; what things are the One, the Two, and so on, up to the Ten; that the coldest thing is the mind of

a wicked man (to prove which, he induces the sorcerer to kill his own brother); that the hottest thing is the hand of a pious man; that water is good when it subsides, fire when it cools, and a tyrant when he dies; that falsehood is heavier than a mountain, a tongue sharper than a knife, a fortunate child sweeter than honey, the earth fatter than a sheep's tail, Tîshtar the most liberal, and Vâyô the most just; that the foot of the angel of water is handsomer than that of Hû-parsh, his own sister and Akht's wife; that women have more pleasure from being with their husbands, than from dress and housewifery, which Akht denies and refers to his wife, Hû-parsh, who decides in favor of her brother, and is killed, in consequence, by her husband. The next enigma, which appears to describe some animal monster, puzzles Gôsht-i Fryânô, who obtains time for consideration, until Aûharmazd sends the angel Nêryôsang to inform him that the monster is a man ploughing with a yoke of oxen. His remaining answers are: what is the best horse; that dust is dry and will not burn, while grease is damp and will burn; what is a good king; and that his own riches are what he eats and wears and gives to the poor.

Having solved the thirty-three enigmas, Gôsht-i Fryânô, in his turn, propounds three enigmas to Akht, on pain of death. Akht takes time to consider, and goes to hell to consult Akharman, who refuses to give the solutions, for fear of injuring his own creatures. Akht returns from hell in despair, and is destroyed by Gôsht-i Fryânô.

With regard to the age of the work there are no indications. The name Mârspend in ch. 1, 7. can have no reference to the celebrated Âdarbâd Mârspend; and it is unlikely that the name Parvîz in ch. 2, 60. has any reference to Khusrô Parvîz, although one may be rather inclined to attribute many of the extant Pahlavî writings to his time, or that of Khusrô Nôshîrvân. Very little reliance can be placed upon the style of the language, as the style of the writers of such late works as the Bahman yasht, Gujastah Abâlish, long after the Mohamedan conquest, looks older, and is less like modern Persian, than that of the Dîn-kard.

Since the subject matter of the tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô is already mentioned in the Zand texts, we may presume that a book, containing the enigmas of Akht, the sorcerer, and those of his opponent, Gôsht-i Fryânô, was in existence even long before the Sasanian times, perhaps as early as the latter end of the Achæmenian period. Whatever may be the age of the present work, it is, on the main, certainly based on ante-Sasanian sources.

# Appendix.

## I.

Introduction to the Pâzand-Sanskrit Arḍâ-Vîrâf Nâmah, translated in p. xii-xiv; transliterated from a copy supplied by Destur Hoshangji[1].

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**[Pâzand.]** 1 Pa nãmi shanâishni dâdhâri vahê i vîspaêsãm vasãm vazâvañḍ, 2 avâî u vâfreñgãmni avîzh vahi dîn i Mazdayasnã, 3 ã mâdagã Aradâ Vîrâ wazhã khvâneñḍ.

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**[Sanskrit.]**[2] Athedânîmatra Arddâ-Gvîrâ-nâmâ pustakañ likhyate.

1 Nâmamânyatâcha dâtuḥ uttamasya sarveshâncha sakarmmavatâm, 2 asya prabodhas'cha uttamâyâ nirmmalâyâ dînermmâjdaîasnyâḥ, 3 idam mahattarâ Arddâ-Gvîrâ iti nâma âkârayanti.

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[1] In the original, the Pâzand and Sanskrit alternate in sentences, indicated here by the numbers, and a Gujarâti version follows the Sanskrit. The text is very corrupt, and none but the most obvious blunders of copyists have been corrected here.

[2] The cerebrals, *visarga*, and seventh vowel are represented by *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, *ḥ* and *ṛi*. A medial *anusvâra* is resolved into *n*, before gutturals, palatals and dentals; into *ṇ*, before cerebrals; into *m*, before labials and vowels; and into *ñ*, before semivowels, sibilants and *h*. A final *anusvâra* is resolved into *ñ*, unless it is followed by a vowel, labial, or pause, in which cases *m* is used. The palatal nasal, after *j*, is represented by *n*; the first sibilant is a dental English *sh*, but is here represented by *s'*; the second, or cerebral, sibilant is here represented by *sh*, though elewhere it has been printed *ṣh* with the usual distinctive dot of cerebrals; the elision af an initial *a* is indicated by ', and words connected by a compound consonant are not separated.

4 O ā gâh darak Gushtâspa shâh dînī vahê Mazdayasnā ezh Hôrmizda khvadhâi padarafta, 5 va ashô Zarathushtra Spentamā pa bakhta shûḍ, 6 ki Gushtâspa u Dalag u Gôspardashta u Feresaushtra u Maidîômâh awarē Mazdayasnā pa aganî nishashta hanḍ, 7 khshkârd guft henḍ 8 ku: Vazôshâum ezh Mazdayasnā yakē agunâhtara, 9 mangi ô khardan dahôm, 10 andâ rvā ô ānanbâm shahoḍ, 11 vîned rvāni Spetamā ashô Zarathushtra, 12 vîned u gâha u Hôrmazda u ameshâspendān, 13 vîneḍ vahēshta u Chinuwaḍ puhal u Rasna i râsht, 14 u vîned dhôzhakha u rvā i darvandān pa dôzhakh; 15 bē dâneḍ ku īn kerba i ēmâ Mazdayasnān kunôm, hasht ayâo nē; 16 awmā âgahî âwereḍ, 17 agar hasht tukhshasni kunôm, agar nēsht kē[1] kunôm. 18 Vashā padash ham dâishtā bûḍ hend, 19 vashā guft 20 ku: Ezh ēmâ Mazdayasnā Ardâ agunâhatar u vahêtar. 21 Pash Ardâi Vîrâ chun shn[2] ā

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4 Tasmin samaye chattatan yadâ Gustâspo râjâ dînim uttamâm Mâjadaîasnîm Ahurmajdât svâminaḥ pratyakaroti, 5 puṇyâtmâ Jarathus'tro yaḥ Spintamaputro bhâgyo gataḥ, 6 râjna-Gustâspa-Dalagas'cha Gospadastas'cha Pharasa,us'tras'cha Ma,idîomâhâs'cha aparecha Majdaîasnyâ ekatra sannivishṭâ âsan, 7 satâ samâlochya avochat 8 yat: Sodhâyâmaḥ Majdaîasnebhyaḥ ekam apâpataram uttamatarancha, 9 mangicha khâditun dadâmi, 10 yâvat âtmâ tasmin prades'e prayâti, 11 nirîkshayati âtmânan yô Spitamaputrasya puṇya-âtmanô Jarathus'trasya, 12 nirîkshayaticha dhyânam Ahurmmajdasya amarâṇâncha gurûtarâṇâm, 13 nirîkshayaticha svargabhuvana-Chandorapuhulancha setun Rasna-îajnan satyam, 14 nirîkshayaticha narakabhuvanam âtmânas'cha ye durgatimatân narakabhuvanam; 15 vis'eshatas'cha jânâti idam puṇyan yat vayam Majdaîsnâ kurmmahe, asti kinvâ nahi; 16 asmâkam prabodhatâyân samânayati, 17 yadyasti adhyavasâyan kurmmahe, yadi nâsti no kurmahe. 18 Techa tatra ekamatâḥ sanjâtâḥ, 19 tais'cha uktan 20 yattasmât Majdaîasnebhyaḥ Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ apâpataraḥ puṇyavantaḥ uttamataras'cha. 21 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ yathaiva tadvachanamas'ṛiṇot pâdâ-

[1] Should perhaps be *nē*.

[2] Probably *shān*.

shakhun âshnuḍ, awar ô pâê ēshtâḍ, 22 vash dasht pa kash kard, guft 23 ku: Agaratā̆ manishni shîheḍ, aigunûm mañgi ma dahēḍ añdâ nâhîcha awaganûm; 24 agar nâhîcha ô men âêḍ, kâm mañdaha shavôm ô ā̆ añbā̆m ashôā̆ darvañdā̆, 25 îñ pēdā̆m ô durushtihâ barôm, u râshtihâ awâzh âwarôm.

26 Pash Gushtâspa shâha u awarē Mazdayasnā̆ âkhesht heñḍ, 27 u añdar mā̆n âtashā̆ shuḍ heñḍ; 28 awashā̆ aganîn nâhîcha avagend heñḍ; 29 nâhîcha ô Ardâ Vîrâ maḍ.

30 Pash ā̆ haptâ khvâhar hafta zan i Ardâi Vîrâ chuñ ish hamâ zan i ôi bûḍ henḍ, vashā̆ dîn narm u yasht kard eshtâḍ heñḍ; 31 kashā̆ ā̆ shakhun âshnûḍ, aigashā̆ awā̆ garā̆ bûḍ chûñ dashā̆ u [1] garā̆tûm maḍ hâê. 32 Vashā̆ pēsh i Gushtâspa shâha u awarē Mazdayasnā̆ shûḍ heñḍ, 33 namâza burd heñḍ, 34 bē pâê eshtâḍ hend, 35 vashā̆ gufta

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bhyâm ûrddhasthitaḥ, 22 tenacha hastaucha kakshâyâñ kṛitau, uktancha 23 yat: Yadi bhavatâm manasaḥ spṛihayati, tadhânaga [2] mahyam mingim mâ dattaḥ yâvat ḍangarakam [3] âsphâlayati; 24 yadi ḍangarako mayi samâyâti, kâmavân prayâmi prades'añ yat muktâtmânâñ durgatimatâncha, 25 idancha dûtakâryañ sundaratayâ nayâmi, satyatayâcha vyâvṛityama samânayati.

26 Pas'chât Gustâsparâjâ aparecha Majdaîasnâ samuttasthuḥ, 27 antas'cha agnibhuvane samâyân; 28 techa samavâyena ḍangarakañ samâsphâlayan; 29 ḍangarakam Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushañ samâyât.

30 Pas'chât tâḥ sapta bhaginyo yâ Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya sarvâpi bhâryâḥ asya sambhûtâḥ santi, tâsâñ dînikomalânâñvarâcha kṛitâ âste; 31 yat tâbhiḥ etadvachaḥ s'rutam evañ duḥkhinyaḥ sanjâtâḥ yathâ kila tâsâñ tat yat mahâbhâritarañ duḥkhañ samprâptam. 32 Tâs'cha puraḥ Gustâsparâjno apareshâncha Majdaîasnânâñ samâyayuḥ, 33 praṇâmancha akurvvan, 34 pâdâbhyâm ûrddhasthitâ, 35 tâbhis'cha uktañ yat: Mâ

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[1] Perhaps *kashā̆ i*, some words being omitted between them.

[2] Probably a miswriting of *tadânîm*.

[3] So in $H_{18}$; here it is variously written *dugaraka*, *ḍunguraka*, *ḍanguraka* and *ḍungaraka*.

ku: Ma kunēḍ shumâ Mazdayasnã iñ thesh, 36 chi ēmâ haft zan khvâhar hôm, ôi yakē khashma; 37 har haft zan khvâhar khvashm dâḍ jani hôm; 38 chûñ khvânaê ke haft frēshw[1], 39 ēshã frēspã shtûnaê azhēr añdâ kard eshtaḍ, 40 ka ã shtûn bē shtâneñḍ, ēshã haft frēspã bē ôfteñd.

41 Pash Gushtâspa shâha, kash ã sakhun âshnûḍ, khsham kard, 42 ô ēshã gufta 43 ku: Shumâ râ vâḍ bē barâd, 44 guraga bē khvarâḍ, 45 vatã agasht bē duñjâḍ[2].

46 Pash Ardâ Vîrâ, chuñsh ã dîḍ ku Gushtâspa shâha khshma kard, ēshã râ khvarēshañdî dâḍ; 47 vash ô pēsh i Gushtâspa shûḍ, 48 dasht pa kash karḍ, 49 shtâisni vash kard, 50 vash gufta ku: Agar dashtûr hēḍ, khvarasni khvarôm, 51 u rvãnî yazôm, 52 añdarj kunôm; 53 mañg pas dihēḍ. 54 Pas Gushtâspa shâh guft ku: Hamagûna kun.

55 Pash Ardâ Vîrâ âdarô i khvēsha shûḍ, 56 vash yazasni kard,

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kuru yûyam Majdaîasnâḥ idañ kinchidapi, 36 yato vayañ sapta bhâryyâḥ smaḥ, asau ekas'cha bharttâ; 37 saptacha bhaginyo asya bharttuḥ bhâryyâ asmi; 38 yathâ gṛihamekañ sapta kshaṇâḥ, 39 teshâñ kshaṇânâm adhastambha eko madhya vibhâgakṛite âste, 40 yadi adhastambhaḥ samâtutûshyât saptâpi kshaṇâḥ sampatanti.

41 Pas'chât Gustâsparâjâ, yat tadvachanamas'ṛinot, kopañ chakâra, 42 tâsâncha, uktañ 43 yat: Yushmân mahâvâto nayet, 44 vyâghrâḥ khâdantu, 45 bhavatînâñ svîye asthîni svâsanâkarshatu.

46 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purusheṇa, yathaiva dṛishṭañ tat Gustâspo râjâ kopañ chakre, santoshaḥ pradattaḥ; 47 sacha purato Gustâsparâjâ agachchhat, 48 hastau kakshâyâñ vyadhât, 49 stuticha prachurâñ chakâra, 50 techa avochat: Yadi âdes'o bhavati khâdyam bhakshayâmi, 51 âtmânam ârâdhayâmi, 52 samarthyaṇâncha karômi; 53 mangim pas'chât dattaḥ. 54 Pas'chât Gustâsparâjâ avochat yat: Ityevañ kuru.

55 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ agnibhuvane svîye avrajat, 56

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[1] For *frēsp.*

[2] Perhaps for *añgusht bē bañjâḍ* (or *dañḍâḍ*).

u rvān yazid, khvaresni khvard. 57 Ēshā khvâharā mañga shâkhta, 58 ô zâm i mai khvar kard; 59 ô Ardâ Vîrâ awarē vastarg kard; 60 Kai Gushtâspa shâh awarē Mazdayasnā âgahî dâd.

61 Pash Gushtâspa shâha u awarē Mazdayasnā âmad heñd, 62 vashā ôi Ardâ Vîrâ mañgi dâd, 63 pa avar vashtarg anâvînid[1]. 64 Ērawadá gumârd gahê âmôkhteñd, 65 ku tan ôi Ardâ Vîrâ pa pâsh pâiñd, u naska gôiñd. 66 Ā haft khvâhar pērâmûn i vashtarg i Ardâ Vîrâ nishasht heñd, 67 awashtâ gôiñd 68 añdâ haftem rôza shawā.

69 Rvān i Ardâ Vîrâ ezh tan shud ô Chikâiti Dâhitî Chinvad pahul, 70 ô haftem rôz awâz âmad, 71 u añdar tan gumēkhta. 72 Ardâ Vîrâ awar âkhesht, 73 chûm ki ezh ā i khvash khvâw âkhesht, 74 Vahman maneshni u hurma.

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sacha ijisnî chakâra, âtmânancha samârâdhayat, khâdyancha âkhâdayat. 57 Tâbhis'cha bhâryâbhiḥ manga-ushadhî pragaṇî kṛitâ, 58 pâtrecha madhubhakshaṇañ nikshiptam; 59 Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushas'cha adhastâd-vastrâṇâñ nivasati; 60 râjno Gustâspas'cha apareshâncha Majdaîasnânâm prabodhaḥ kâritaḥ.

61 Pas'chât Gustâspo râjâ aparecha Majdaîasnâ samâyâtuḥ, 62 techa Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya manga-ushadhî dadatuḥ, 63 vastras-yopari asvâpayat. 64 Ervadâs'ṛijantaḥ, 65 yathâ vapustasya Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya praharakeṇa rakshanti, naskancha samuchcharanti. 66 Atas'cha sapta bhâryâḥ parivartulam Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushavastrasya upavivis'uḥ, 67 avasthâvâṇicha samuchcharanti 68 yâvat saptamam ahorâtram.

69 Âtmâcha tasya Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya kâyât agachchhat Chakâita-Dâiti-nâmni girau Chandora-puhalecha setau, 70 saptamecha ahni avyâvṛitya samâgachchhat, 71 antas'cha tanau milataḥ. 72 Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ uparishṭât udatishṭhat, 73 yathâ kila tasya sukhi nidrâyâḥ samuchchataḥ, 74 uttamamanâ uttamânândasya.

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[1] A misreading of the Pahl.  *khvâpînîd* = Pers. خوابانيد.

75 U ēshā̃ khvâharā̃ chuñshā̃ Ardâ Vîrâ dîḏ kush awar nigarîḏ, 76 aigishā̃ awā̃ hûram bûḏ heñḏ chûm kashā̃ pa zendagā̃ pa vahēsht bûḏ heñḏ; 77 ēshā̃ ērawadā̃ pēsh i Ardâ Vîrâ ā̃ namâzh buraḏ heñḏ, 78 shuḏ heñḏ pēsha i Gushtâspa shâha u Dilag u Gôspadasht u Fereshaoshtar u Maidyômâh u awarē Mazdayasnā̃ âgahî dâḏ; 79 ēshā̃ nazdîk i Ardâ Vîrâ shuḏ heñḏ. 80 U Ardâ Vîrâ chûñash Gushtâspa shâha dîḏ, padîra shuḏ[1], 81 guft ku: Drûḏ ezh Hôrmazda i bag u ameshâspeñdān, 82 u drûḏ ezh ashô Zarathushtra Spetamā̃, 83 u drûḏ ezh Shrôsh ashô, 84 u drûḏ ezh Âdra yazda, 85 u drûḏ ezh dîni vahê Mazdayasnā̃, 86 u drûḏ ezh nēkî u âshânî i ashôā̃ pa vahisht.

87 Pash Gushtâspa shâha guft 88 ku: Durasht dil thô, Ardâ Vîrâ, i ēmâ Mazdayasnā̃ pēdā̃mbar, 89 vat drûḏ bâḏ; 90 thôicha ezh ā̃ dîḏ haê râshtihâ ô ēmâ gôê. 91 Vash dasht garaft, hamâ Mazdayasnā̃

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75 Tâbhis'cha bhâryâbhiḥ yathâsau Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ dṛishṭaḥ kila upari nirîkshataḥ, 76 anvatâ evam uttamânandaḥ samabhavat, yathâ kila jîvantya evañ svargabhuvane praṇîtâ santi; 77 techa ervadâḥ purataḥ Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya praṇâmañ chakruḥ, 78 jagmubhya purastât Gustâspasya râjno Dalagas'cha Gospadas'cha Pharisustras'cha Ma,idîomâhas'cha apareshâncha Majdaîasnânâm prabodhancha adaduḥ; 79 techa âsannataram Arddâ-Gvîrâmâyayuḥ. 80 Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ tathaiva Gustâsparâjânañ dadars'a, pratyabhimukham prachalitaḥ, 81 uvâcha yat: Praṇâmaḥ Ahurmmajdâddâtuḥ amarebhyas'cha gurûtarebhyaḥ, 82 praṇâmas'cha puṇyâtmâno Jarathus'trât Spitamaputrât, 83 praṇâmas'cha Srosât puṇyâtmakât âdes'apati, 84 praṇâmas'cha Âdarât iajdât, 85 praṇâmas'cha uttamadiner-Majdaîasnyâḥ, 86 praṇâmas'cha s'ubhât samâdhânâchcha yat muktâtmanâñ svargaloke.

87 Pas'chât Gustâsparâjâ uvâcha 88 yat: Arogyañ hṛidayañ te, he Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ, asmâkam Majdaîasnânâñ dyut, 89 namostu tubhyam; 90 tvamapi tasmât yat dṛishṭamasti satyatayâ asmâki brûhi. 91 Techa haste vidhṛitya, sarve Majdaîasnâ ekatra upavivis'uḥ, 92 techa

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[1] Or perhaps *âiḏ*, the writing being ambiguous.

aganîn nisasht heñḍ, 92 vashā̃ gufta ku: Gô ā̃n i yat dîḍ pa vahēsht u dôzhakh u Chinûaḍ puhal; 93 ēdum râshtihâ gôi añdâ ēmâicha dânôm iñ i Gruḍamā̃n grift eshtaḍ.

94 Pash Ardâ Vîrâ gôiḍ 95 ku: Varsh u tarsh hôm; 96 nukhusht tan khvarsni dahishni, pas purasashni kunasni, kâra framâisni. 97 Pash Gushtâspa shâha framûḍ, 98 ku ôsh Ardâ Vîrâ khvash kharsni, khûba-pukht hû-bôi khvardî, u sharḍ âw, khvash maê khvash gôspeñḍ[1]. 99 Pash Ardâ Vîrâ drûn barasman yasht, 100 khvarsni khvard, 101 myazda râinîḍ 102 pa sparhm u mai, vâzh bē guft. 103 U stâishni i Hôrmazda u ameshâspeñdā̃n spâsh añgârḍ, u Averedâḍ u Ameredâḍ añgârḍ, 104 u âfreñgā̃ guft.

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avochan yat: Brûhi tat yattvayâ drishṭañ svargaloke narakalokecha Chandorapuhalecha setau; 93 evañ satyatayâ brûhi yathâ vayam vijânîmaḥ tat yat samaye grihîtamasti.

94 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushaḥ brûte 95 yat: Bubhukshita-trishitas'cha asmi; 96 prathamañ tanoḥ khâdyañ dadata, pas'chât prashnakuruta, kâryancha âdes'ât. 97 Pas'chât Gustâsparâjâ samâdis'at, 98 yat etasmai susvâdu khâdyañ s'uddhapakvañ sugandhavyanjanañ s'îta-[1]ancha salilañ susvâdancha madhuñ samâyan. 99 Pas'chât Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purusheṇa drûna ejataḥ, 100 bhâjyancha bhuktam, 101 miajdas'cha prachârat 102 sugandhaiḥ pushpaiḥ madhunâcha, maunavisarjjâtam. 103 Stuti Ahurmmajdasyacha svâminaḥ amis'âspintânâncha tridhâpraharakasya jalamûrttecha vanaspatimûrttecha sañsmṛitaḥ.

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[1] These two words must be a misreading of some Pahlavî phrase, including the verb, perhaps *aûbash yansegûnd.*

# II.

Introduction to the Persian Ardâ-Vîrâf Nâmah contained in the MS. $H_{28}$, and translated in p. xv-xix.[1]

سپاس دارم ایزدی را که مارا بیافرید چنانکه خواست و خواهد و در بر پیغام ما.

بعد ایدون کویند که چون شاه اردشیر بابکان و چون ببادشاهی بنشست نود بادشاه بکشت و بعضی کویند نود و شش بادشاه بکست و جهانرا از دشمنان خالی کرد و آرمیده کردانید و دستوران و موبدانی که دران زمان بودند همه را پیش خویشتن خواند و کفت که دین راست و درست که ایزد تعالی بزرتشت علیه کفت و زرتشت در کیتی روا کرد مرا باز نمانید تا من این کیشها و کفت و کویها از جهان بر کنم و اعتقاد با یکی آورم و کسی بفرستاد بهمه ولایتها هر جایکاه که دانایی و یا دستوری بود همه را بدرکاه خود خواند چهل هزار مرد بر درکاه انبوه شد پس بفرمود و کفت آنهای که ازین داناترند باز پلبینند چهار هزار داناتر ازان جمله بر کزیدند و شاهان شاه را خبر کردند و کفت دیکر بار احتیاط بکنید دیکر نوبت ازان جمله قومی که به تمیز و عاقل و افستا و زند بیشتر از بر دارند جدا کنید چهار صد مرد بر آمد که ایشان افستا و زند بیشتر از بر داشتند دیکر باره احتیاط کردند در میان ایشان چهل مرد بکزیدند که ایشان افستا جمله از بر داشتند دیکر در میان آن جمل کسی هفت مرد بودند که از اول عمر تا با آن روزکار که ایشان

[1] In accordance with the MS., this text is not divided into sentences, and no distinction is made between the letters *g* and *k*. A few words, which are hardly intelligible, are transcribed as they appear to be written.

رسیده بودند بر ایشان هیچ کناه پیدا نیامده بود و بغایت عظیم پهریختته بودند و پاکیزه دل در منشن و کوشن و کنشن و دل در ایزد لبته بودند بعد ازان هر هفت بنزدیک شاه اردشیر بردند بعد ازان شاه فرمود که مرا می باید که این شک و کمان از دین بر خیزد و مردمان همه بر دین اورمزد و زرتشت باشند و کفت و کوی از دین بر خیزد و چنانکه مرا و همه عالمان و دانایان را روشن شود که دین کدامست و این شک و کمان از دین بیفتد بعد ازان ایشان پاسخ دادند که کسی این خبر باز نتواند دادن الا آنکسی که از اول عمر هشت سالکی تا بدان وقت که رسیده باشد هیچ کناه نکرده باشد و این مرد ویرافست که ازو پاکیزه‌تر و مینوروشنتر و راستکویتر کس نیست و این قصه اختیار بروی باید کردن و ما شش کانه دیکر یزشنها و نیرنکها که در دین که از بهر این کار کفته است بجای آوریم تا ایزد عز و جل احوالها بویراف نماید و ویراف مارا ازان خبر دهد تا همه کس بدین اورمزد و زرتشت بیکمان شوند و ویراف این کار در خویشتن پذیرفت و شاه اردشیر آن سخن را خوش آمد و پس کفتند این کار راست نکردد الا که بدرکاه آدران شوند و پس بر خاستند و عزم کردند و برفتند و بعد ازان آن شش مرد که دستوران بودند از یک سوی آتشکاه یزشنها پساختند و آن چهل دیکر سویها با چهل هزار مرد دستوران که بدرکاه آمده بودند همه یزشنها پساختند و ویراف سر و تن بشست و جامه سفید در پوشید و بوی خوش بر خویشتن کرد پیش آتش بیستد و از همه کناهها پتفت بکرد.

ویراف را هفت خواهر بودند و چون آن خبر بدانستند هر هفت بیامدند و زاری و کریه کردند و کفتند که ما هفت سر پوشیده در خانه ایم و برادر خود بجز این نداریم و امید ما همه بدویست اکنون شما او را بدان جهان خواهی فرستاد و ما ندانیم که دیکر

روی او باز بینیم یا نه و ما را بیستر به خواهی کردن از پدر و مادر جدا شدیم و از برادر نیز مان جدا خواهی کردن ما نکداریم چه ما همین یک برادر است شما کسی دیکر بر کزینید و این برادر بما رها کنید دستوران چون این سخن بشنیدند کفتند شما هیچ اندوه مبرید و ماندیشید که ما را تا هفت روز دیکر ویراف را تن درست با شما سپاریم و سوکند بخوردند و خواهران خر پسند شدند و باز کردیدند.

پس شاهنشاه اردشیر با سواران سلاح پوشیده از کرد بر کرد آتشکاه نکاه میداشت تا نه که آشوغی با منافقی پنهان چیزی بر ویراف نکنند که او را خللی رسند و چیزی بدی در میان یزشن کنند که آن نیرنک با طلب شود پس در میان آتش کاه تختی بنهادند و جامهای پاکیزه بر افکندند و ویراف را بران تخت نشاندند و رویبند بروی فرو کداشتند و آن چهل هزار مرد بر یزشن کردن ایستادند و درونی بیشتند و قدری په یکی بران درون نهادند چون تمام بیشتند یک قدح شراب بویراف دادند بهمت منشنه یعنی که از اعتقادی و نیستی خاص راست کویی fol. defective بدو دادند یعنی از قول صادق . . . شنی راست و یک قدح که بهورشته ورزشن بدو دادند یعنی کرداری پسندیده بعد ازان ویراف چون این سه قدح خورده بود سر به بستر همانجا باز نهاد و بخواب fol. defective هفت شبانروز ایشان بهمجا یزشن میکردند و آن شش دستور ببالین ویراف نشسته بود defective سی و سه مرد دیکر که بکزیده بودند از کرد بر کرد تخت یزشن میکردند و آن تیرست و شصت مرد که بیشتر بکزیده بودند از کرد بر کرد ایشان یزشن میکردند[1] و آن سی شش هزار کرد بر کرد آتشکاه کنبد یزشن میکردند و

[1] A phrase, referring to the remaining 3600 of the 4000 first selected, is evidently omitted here.

شاهنشاه سلاح پوشیده و بر اسپ نشسته با سپاه از بیرون کنبد میکردیدند و باد را آنجا راه نمیدادند و بهر جایی که این یزشن کنان نشسته بودند بهر قومی جماعتی شمشیر کشیده و بسلاح پوشیده و ایستاده بودند تا کروها همه بر جایکاه خویشتن باشند و هیچ کس بدان دیکر نیامیزند و آنجایکاه که تخت ویراف بود از کرد بر کرد تخت پیادکان با سلاح ایستاده بودند و هیچ کس دیکر را بجز آن شش دستور بنزدیک تخت رها نمیکردند چو شاهنشاه در آمدی از آنجا بیرون آمدی و کرد بر کرد آتشکاه نکاه میداشتی و برین سختی کالید ویراف نکاه میداشتی شستند تا هفت شبان روز بر آمد.

بعد از هفت شبان روز ویراف باز جنبید و باز زیید و باز نشت و مردمان و دستوران چون بدیدند که ویراف از خواب در آمد خرمی کردند و شاد شدند و رامش پدیرفتند و بر پای ایستادند و نماز بردند و کفتند شاد آمدی اردای ویراف و به باز بینی آن باشد که بهشتی اشو باشد چکونه آمدی و چون رستی و چه دیدی ما را باز کوی تا ما نیز احوال آن جهان بدانیم اردا ویراف کفته اول چیزی بیاوری تا من بخورم که هفت شبانروز است تا این بر هیچ چیز نیافته است و ست شد ام بعد ازان هر چه خواهید بپرسید تا شما را معلوم کنم دستوران ساعتی درونی بیشتند اردا ویراف واج کرفت چیزی اندک مایه بخورد و واج بکفت پس بکفت این زمان دبیری دانا را بیاورید تا هر چه من دیده ام بکویم و نخست آن در جهان بفرستید تا همه کس را کار مینو و بهشت و دوزخ معلوم شود و قیمت نیکی کردن بدانند و از بد کردن دور باشند پس دبیری دانا بیاوردند و در پیش اردا ویراف بنشست.

# Errata.

The reader must be prepared to meet with a few type broken in the press, of which the following have been noticed: ر in p. 11, lin. 5. 12, 21. 15, 6. 21, 5. 23, 1. 35, 22. 36, 9. 37, 6. 39, 6. 43, 4. 50, 6. 69, 1, 6. 82, 3. 85, 6. 109, 4. 136, 8. 231, 7. 299, 3. ر in 9, 6. 29, 20. 42, 21. ر in 77, 6. 111, 22. 208, 7. 291, 10. س in 83, 8. ے in 282, 8. و in 289, 9. 295, 9.

Read: in p. xvii. lin. 13. Ardashîr. xviii. 16-17. how didst thou escape? xxi. 25. Risâlah-i. xxiv. 27. Aryan. xxix. 11. [Pahlavi]. xxxi. 30. with. xxxii 19. Ethiopic. LXV. 16. because. LXVI 3. thought itself. 15. of a man. 16. (omit) to. LXXVIII. 6. ăn añbâm. 2, 36. Peshotanji. 2, 40. Zand. 3, 15. *gajestakŏ*. 3, 16. gajestak. 7, 18. *Nikhshâpûr*. 11, 16. bô-i. 13, 14. âkhêzîḍ. 16, 18. Arḍâ. 18, 16. *hû-rôst*, rôst. 18, 18. *aêtûnŏ*. 19, 19. shnâyînîḍ. 20, 17. dêr-yazishnîh. 22, 19. rist-âkhêz. 25, 17. yasharûbŏ. 29, 17. yêdatô. 31, 18. *avêzak*. 38, 14. aûrvarân. 43, 12. Âtarô. 44, 13. Chînûvat. 47, 19. arjânîkân. 50, 16. *rûbânô*-i. 51, 10-11. *hû-rôst-i*. 56, 22. karḍ. 73, 20. âsyâv. 85, 13. *apâḍakhshahîh*. 87, 21. *îstâḍak-i*. 87, 23. has. 88, 18. aîgh. 90, 18. *rîst-âkhêz*. 94, 13. kârḍ. 95, 17. âmûrzishn. 135, 11. *shnâyêm*. 137, 7. âvâḍîh. 148, 34. technical. 149, 11. they. 158, 28. Srôsh. 175, 14. 178, 5, 13, 23. 179, 15. 180, 24. 181, 21. 182, 12. 183, 8. 186, 3, 21. 189, 10. 191, 3. Âtarô. 193, 14. was. 197, 23. re-establishment. 199, 21. 202 21. Atarô. 236, 18. mûn. 244, 12. *yat-ahûk-vêryôk*-I. 244, 15. avasrûḍ. 244, 16. dastôbar. 244, 19. *hamûk*. 260, 7. Garôḍmânô. 278, 6. [Pahlavi]. 279, 19. *shem*. 288, 14. shnâyînîḍ. 297, 19. aî. 300, 8. final. 303, 16. identified. 313, 1. beautiful.

In Arḍ-Vîr. ch. 62, 6. *ârâst* may be a better reading, and the translation will be: '6 and having adorned herself', etc.

# Arḍâ-Virâf Nâmak.

## The Pahlavî text

with Transliteration and

the various readings of several MSS.

# Observations.

The divisions into chapters, paragraphs and sentences, are innovations, as the MSS. are written continuously, and with little attention to stops. Whenever a Huzvâresh word occurs in any of the MSS. consulted, it is used instead of its Pâzand equivalent, although the latter may occur in the older MSS. The *idhâfat* ـِ is joined to the preceding word, as in the MSS.; but the conjunction ﻭ is separated, for the convenience of the reader, although it is generally joined, in the MSS., either to the following, or the preceding, word. The extra final ﻭ is inserted only when it occurs in $H_6$; and the variations of $K_{20}$, with regard to this final, are the only ones noticed. The diacritical marks are those found in $H_6$, which are given so far as the available type would admit.

The transliteration is kept to a uniform system, which is explained in the Introduction. Roman letters are used to represent all Pahlavî numeral signs (less than 1000) to avoid confusion with the numbers of the sentences. Words italicized in the transliteration, are those referred to in the various readings, at the foot of each page.

In the various readings:

All variations that are evidently clerical blunders, are unnoticed. The numbers refer to the sentence in the text, and to the number of the word in the sentence; two, or more, words connected by hyphens in the transliteration, being counted separately, unless they are joined together in the Pahlavî text.

B. — MS. corrected by Destur Bahmanji Jamshedji Jâmâsp Asâ.

D. — MS. prepared by Destur Hoshangji from B. P. N. etc.

Dest. — Destur Hoshangji.

$H_6$. — Dr. Haug's MS. No. 6, dated A. Y. 766.

$H_{6a}$. — A fragment from the same MS., extending from ch. 1, 1 to 1, 38 ***aîgh***.

$H_{17}$. — Dr. Haug's MS. No. 17; extending from ch. 1, 1 to 44, 3 ***hûmândk;*** undated and modern.

$H_{18}$. — Dr. Haug's MS. No. 18, Pâz. — Sans., dated *Samvat* 1466.

$K_{20}$. — the Kopenhagen MS. No. 20, beginning with *Aîrân*, ch. 1, 9; dated A.Y. 690, 700 and 720, but written rather later.

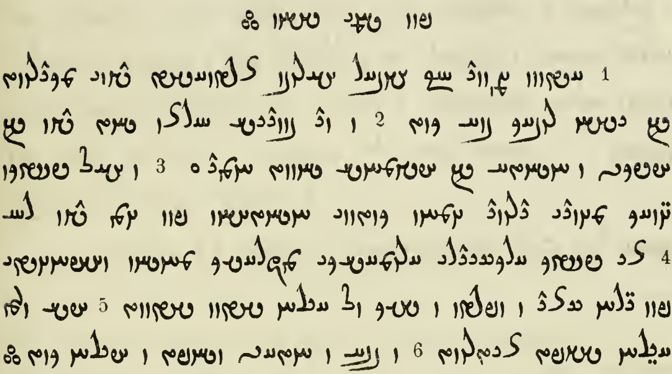
$K_{26}$. — the Kopenhagen MS. No. 26, containing *âtarô*, ch. 4, 6, to *khadîhân*, ch. 64, 8; *adînam*, ch. 84, 1, to *khadîh*, ch. 89, 10; and *mînîd*, ch. 100, 4, to end.

N. — two MSS. written respectively by Destur Asâji Nushîrvânji and by Destur Nushîrvânji Jâmâspji Asâ; the latter dated A.Y. 1108.

P. — MS. belonging to Destur Peshutanji Behramji Sanjâna, and written by Mobad Naurozji Sanjâna.

Bund. — Bundehesh. Chald. — Chaldee. Heb. — Hebrew. om. — omits, or omit. Mkh. — Mainyô-i-khard. Pâz. — Pâzand. Pers. — Persian. Sans. — Sanskrit. Syr. — Syriac. Vend. — Vendidâd. Z. — Zend.

# Chapter I.



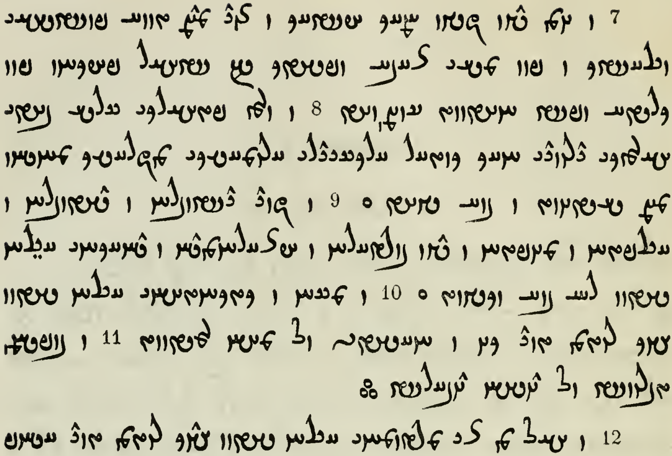
## Chapter I.

Pavan shem-i Yadadânŏ.

1 Aêtûnŏ yemalelund aîgh: *khadâ-bâr* yasharûbŏ Zaratûhasht dînô-*i* mekadlûnḍ yîn gêhân rûbâk barâ karḍ; 2 va vad bûndakîh-*i* CCCŏ shanat, dînô yîn avêzakîh va anshûtâ yîn avîgûmânîh yehevûnḍ hômand. 3 Va akhar *gajastakŏ* Ganrâk-mînavad-*i* *darvand*, gûmânô karḍanŏ-i anshûtâânŏ pavan denman dînô râî, 4 zak gajastak *Alaksagdar-i* Arûmâyâk-*i* Mûjrâyîk-mânishnŏ nîyâzânînîḍ-i pavan girân sazd va napartŏ va dahîk, val Aîrân shatrô yâtûnḍ; 5 afash valman Aîrân dahyûpat zektelûnḍ, 6 va babâ va khûḍâîh vashûft va avîrân karḍ.

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1. 1. 4. P. [illegible]. 1, 7. [illegible] only in $H_6$. 2, 3. all omit the *idhâfat* [illegible], but perhaps [illegible] = [illegible] (a variant of [illegible]) + [illegible]. 3, 3. D. [illegible]. 3, 5. [illegible] only in $H_{6a}$. 3, 6. only in B. $H_6$, $H_{6a}$. 4, 3. B. [illegible]. 4, 4. [illegible] only in $H_6$

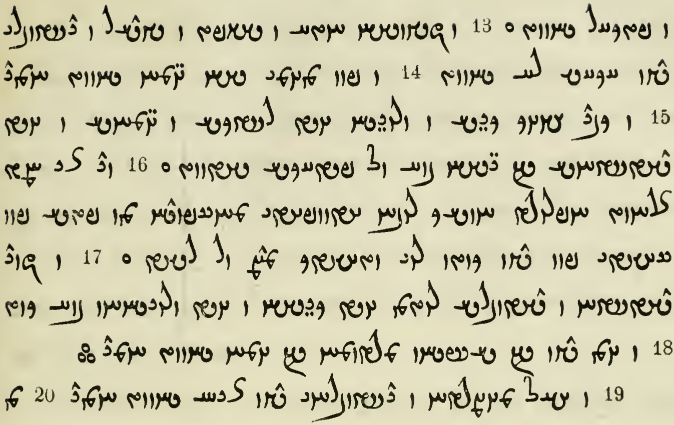


7 Va denman dînô, chîgûn hamâk avistâk va zand, madam tôrâ pôstîhâ-i vîrâstak va pavan mayâ-i zahabâ nipishtak, yîn Stâkhar Pâpakânŏ pavan karîtâ-nipist hankhetûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ; 8 va valman patîyârak-i saryâ-*bakht-i yasharmôk-i* darvand-i anâk-kardâr Alaksagdar-*i* Arûmâyîk-*i* Mûjrâyîk-mânishnŏ madam yâîtyûnḍ; va barâ sûkht. 9 Va chand dastôbarân va dâtôbarân va aêrpatân va magôpatân va dînô-bûrdârân va afzâr-hômandân va dânâkân-i Aîrân shatrô râî barâ *neksûnḍ.* 10 Va masân va kaḍak-khûḍâân-i Aîrân shatrô, khadûk levatman tanid, kîn va anâshtîh *val mîyân* ramîtûnḍ; 11 va benafshman tebrûnast, val dûshahû dûbârast.

12 Va akhar min zak, marḍûmân-i Aîrân shatrô, khadûk levatman tanid, âshûp

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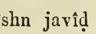
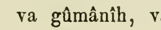
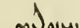
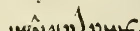
I. 8, 5. [illegible] in all but $H_{17}$. 8, 6. D. [illegible]. 8, 10, 11. all omit the *idhâfat* [illegible]. 9, 21. so in $H_{17}$; B. N. [illegible]; P. [illegible]; $H_{18}$ *kustan;* $H_6$, $H_{22}$, $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 10, 13—14. $K_{20}$ [illegible].

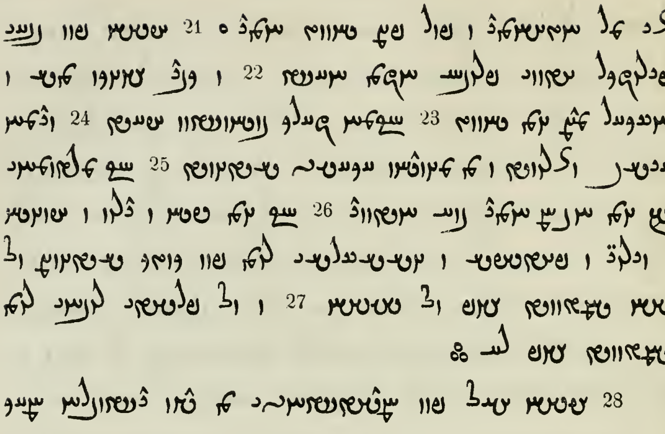


va patkâr *yehevûnd.* 13 Va *chîgûnshân* khûdâ va dahyûpat va *sardâr* va dastôbar-i dînô-âkâs lâ yehevûnd; 14 va pavan mandavam-i Yadadân gûmân yehevûnd hômand; 15 va kabed khadûînak kêsh, va varôîshn javîd rastakîh, va gûmânîh, va javîd *dâdistânîh* yîn gêhân barâ *val* pêdâkîh *yâtûnd.* 16 Vad zak amat zerkhûnd *hû-farvard* anôshak-rûbân Âtarô-pâd-i *Mârspendân mûn* padash, pavan sâkht-i pavan Dînô-kartô, *rû-i* vadâkhtak madam var rîkht. 17 Va chand dâdistân va dâtôbarîh levatman javîd kêshân va javîd varôîshnânŏ barâ kard; 18 va denman *dînô* yîn *Shaspigânŏ* mardûmân yîn gûmân yehevûnd hômand.

19 Va akhar, magôî-mardân va dastôbarân-i dînô zakâî yehevûnd hômand; 20 min

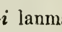
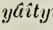
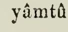
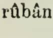
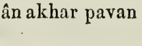
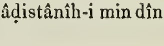
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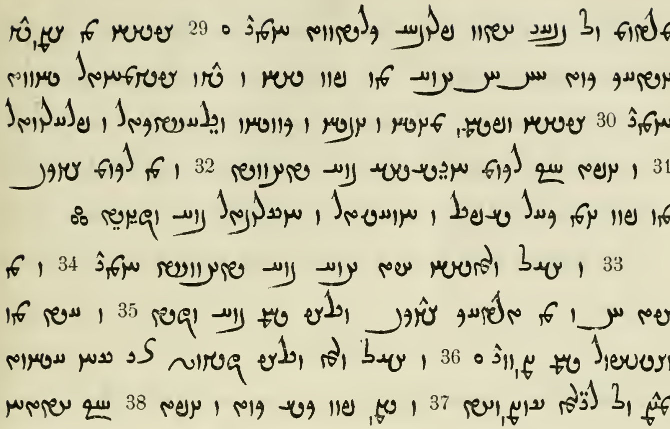
I. 12, 14.  in all but $H_{17}$. 13, 2. $H_6$, $H_{6a}$, $K_{20}$ . 13, 7. P. . 15, 13. D. $H_{17}$ . 15, 17. $K_{20}$ . 15, 19. all MSS. separate this sentence from the next, more decidedly than the sense requires. 16, 5.  in all but $H_{17}$. 16, 9. D. $H_{17}$ . 16, 10. $H_{17}$ . 16, 17. $H_6$ $H_{6a}$ . 18, 3.  seems wanting; Dest. suggests . 18, 5. $H_{18}$ *sêrashni.* 20. $K_{20}$ omits this sentence.



zak mar khûḍâ-hômand *va* pûr-*pîm* yehevûnḍ hômand. 21 Afshân pavan babâ-*i* pîrûzkar Âtarô-*i* Frôbâg, hanjaman khvâst; 22 va kabed *khadûînakŏ milayâ* va *hû-sikâl* madam denman yehevûnḍ, 23 aîghmân chârak *bavîhûnastanŏ* avâyaḍ, 24 vadmân *khadîh-I* vazlûnêḍ, *va* min mîna-vadânŏ âkâsîh yâîtyûnêḍ; 25 aîgh *marḍûmân-i* yîn denman anbâm hômand, barâ khavîtûnd 26 aîgh denman *yazishn*, va drôn, *va* âfrînagân, va nîrang, va pâḍyâvîh, va *yôshdâsarîh-i* lanman pavan karḍak *yâîtyûnêm*, val Yadadân yâmtûnêḍ, ayûf val shêdââن; 27 va val fryâḍ-i rûbân-i lanman yâmtûnêḍ, ayûf lâ.

28 Afshân akhar pavan ham-dâḍistânîh-i min dînô *dastôbarân* hamâk

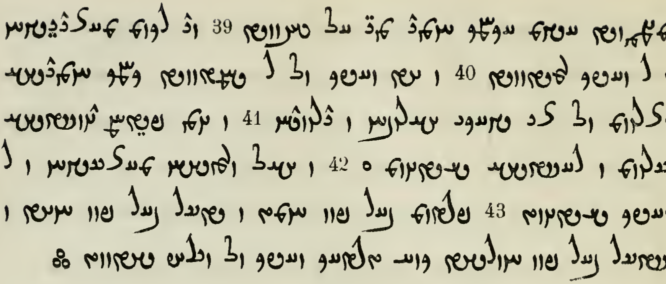
1. 20, 5. all omit . 20, 7. $H_6$ . 21, 3, 5. $H_6$ omits . 22, 3. $H_{6a}$, $H_{17}$ . 22, 4. $H_{17}$ . 22, 6. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, P. . 23, 3. $H_6$ . 24, 2. $H_6$, $H_{6a}$, $K_{20}$ . 24, 4. all omit . 25, 2.  in all but $K_{20}$. 26, 3. $K_{20}$ . 26, 6. all omit . 26, 13. $H_6$, $H_{6a}$, $K_{20}$ ; $H_{17}$ . 26, 17. so in $H_{17}$; D. ; $H_6$, $H_{6a}$ ; $K_{20}$ . 28, 7. $K_{20}$ prefixes .



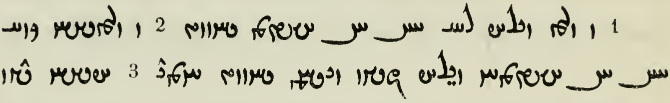
mardûm val babâ-i Âtarô-Frôbâg *karîtûnd* hômand. 29 Afshân min aîmandên javîḍâk kard VII gabrâ mûn pavan Yadadân va dînô avigûmântar yehevûnḍ hômand; 30 afshân nafshman *mînishn* va gûbishn va kûnishn *vîrâstaktar* va frârûntar; 31 va gûft aîgh: Lekûm khvêshyîsh barâ yetîbûnêḍ, 32 va min lekûm khadûk-I mûn pavan denman kâr *shapîr* va *avanâstar* va hû-srôbtar barâ vajînêḍ.

33 Va akhar, valmanshân haft gabrâ barâ *yetîbûnast* hômand; 34 va min haft III, va min telatâk khadûk-I, *Vîrâf* shem, barâ vajîḍ; 35 va aît mûn *Nîshâpûr* shem yemalelund. 36 Va akhar, *valman* Vîrâf, chîgûnash zak sakhun ashnûḍ, madam val ragelman yekavîmûnâḍ, 37 va yadman pavan kash kard, va gûft 38 aîgh: Hattân

I. 28, 14. [Pahlavi] in all but $H_{17}$. 30, 3. $H_6$, $H_{6a}$, $H_{18}$ prefix [Pahlavi]. 30, 8. $H_6$ [Pahlavi]. 32, 9. $K_{20}$ om. 32, 11. $H_6$, $H_{6a}$, $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 33, 7. $H_6$, $H_{6a}$, $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 34, 9. $H_{18}$ always *Vîrâja*, or *Vîrâzh*, in Pâz.; and *Vîrâya*, *Vîrâja*, or *Vîrâjya*, in Sans. 35, 4. so in $H_{6a}$, $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$; the initial [Pahlavi] has nearly disappeared in $H_6$; D. [Pahlavi]; $H_{18}$ *u asâvûr*. 36, 3 $K_{20}$ om.



## Chapter II.



medammûnêḍ, adînam *akâmak*-hômand mang al yehabûnêḍ, 39 vad lekûm *Mâzdayasnân va li* nahîchak ramîtûnêḍ, 40 va hat nahîchak val li yâmtûnêḍ, kâmak-hômandyîsh vazlûnam val zak jînâk-i yasharûbân va darvandân, 41 va denman pêtkham *drûstyîsh* yedrûnam va râstyîsh yâîtyûnam.

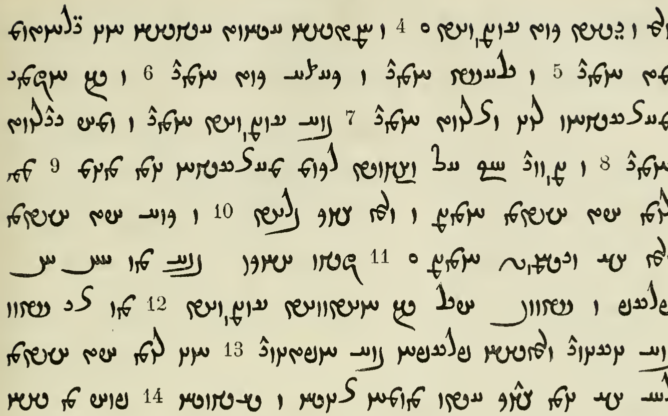
42 Va akhar, valmanshân Mâzdayasnân *va li* nahîchak yâîtyûnḍ; 43 fratûm bâr pavan hûmat, va daḍîgar bâr pavan hûkht, va saḍîgar bâr pavan hûvarsht; kolâ *telatâk* nahîchak val Vîrâf yâtûnḍ.

## Chapter II.

1 Va valman Vîrâf *râî VII akhtman yehevûnḍ*, 2 *va valmanshân kolâ VII akhtmanân* Vîrâf chîgûn nêshman yehevûnḍ hômand; 3 afshân dînô

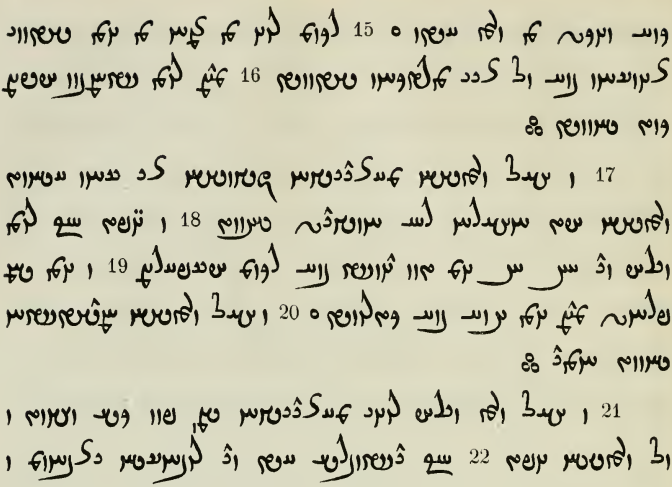
I. 38, 5. D. $H_{18}$ [illegible]. 39, 3. so always in $H_6$. 39, 4—5. $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 41, 4. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 42, 5—6. $H_{17}$ [illegible], 43, 16. $H_{17}$ [illegible]; D. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$ add [illegible].

II. 1, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 1, 5. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 1, 6. $H_{18}$ *zanâ*. 1, 7. $K_{20}$ adds [illegible]. 1, 5.—2, 4. D. om., though it occurs in P., also in $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$. 2, 3. $H_{17}$ om. 2, 4. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 2, 5. $H_{18}$ *zanâ*.



narm va yesht karḍ yekavîmûnâḍ. 4 Va *amatshân* ashnûḍ, adînshân ângun girântûm maḍ hômand, 5 *va* drâyîḍ hômand, va kâlâ karḍ hômand, 6 va yîn hanjaman-*i Mâzdayasnânō* levîn *vazlûnḍ hômand*, 7 barâ yekavîmûnâḍ hômand, va namâz yedrûnḍ hômand, 8 va yemalelund aîgh: Al vâdûnêḍ lekûm Mâzdayasnân denman mandavam; 9 maman lanman *haft* akhtman hômanêm, va *valman* khadûk *brâḍ*; 10 *va kolâ haft akhtman valman akh* nêshmanîh hômanêm. 11 Chîgûn khânak-*I babâ mûn VII* frasp *va* stûn-I azîr yîn *hankhetûnâḍ yekavîmûnâḍ*, 12 *mûn* zak stûn barâ yansegûnd, *valmanshân* fraspân barâ aûftînand; 13 ângun lanman haft *akhtman* râî *akh* denman khadûk *aîtō*, mûnmân zîvishn va yakhsenunishn; 14 frâz min Yadadân

II. 4, 2. $H_{18}$ adds *ā sakhun*. 5, 1. $K_{20}$. 6, 3. $H_6$ omits. 6, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final. 6, 6—7. D. 9, 3. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$. 9, 7. $K_{20}$. 9, 9.—10, 5. $H_{18}$ om. 10, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 10, 6. so in $K_{20}$; $H_{18}$ *sûhar*, Sans. *bharttṛi*; all others. 11, 2. $K_{20}$ for. 11, 3—4. $H_{18}$ om. 11, 5. $K_{20}$. 11, 7. $H_{18}$ *ēshă frēspă*. 11, 11. D. 11, 12. $K_{20}$. 12, 1. $H_{17}$. 12, 6. $H_{18}$ adds *haft*. 13, 4. $H_{18}$ *zani*. 13, 6. so in $K_{20}$; $H_{18}$ *sûi*, Sans. *bharttṛi*; all others. 13, 9. in all but $H_8$.



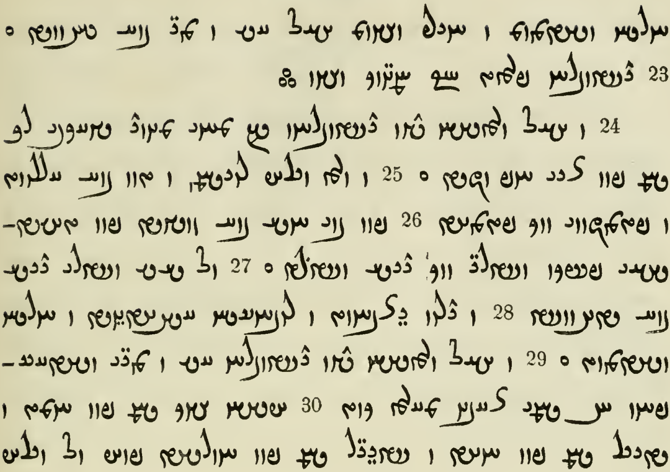
kolâ nadûkîh min *valman* aîtŏ. 15 Lekûm levîn min zamân, min denman shatrô-i zîvandakânŏ barâ val zak-i *mûrḍakânŏ* sheḍûnêḍ, 16 madam lanman stahambŏ avî-chîm karḍ yehevûnêḍ.

17 Va akhar, valmanshân Mâzdayasnân, chîgûnshân *zak sakhûn* ashnûḍ, valmanshân haft khvâharân *râî* khûrsandîh yehabûnḍ, 18 va gûft aîgh: *Lanman* Vîrâf vad *VII* yôm tanû-drûst barâ lekûm *avaspârêm;* 19 va denman shem farukhûîh madam denman gabrâ barâ ketrûnêḍ. 20 Va akhar, *valmanshân* ham-dâḍistân *yehevûnḍ* hômand.

21 Va akhar, *valman* Vîrâf, levîn-i Mâzdayasnân, yadman pavan kash vâdûnḍ, va val valmanshân gûft 22 aîgh: Dastôbarîh *aît* vad *rûbânîkgân* yezbekhûnam, va

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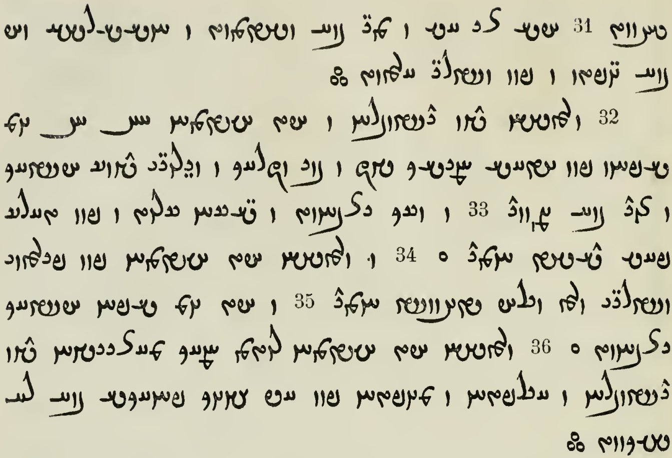
II. 14, 7. D. . 15, 12. $K_{20}$ omits final . 17, 6. $K_{20}$ om. 17, 7. $K_{20}$ . 17, 12. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$ om. 18, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 18, 7. $K_{20}$ . 18, 13. $H_6$ ; $K_{20}$ . 20, 3. $K_{17}$ adds . 20, 5. D. . 21, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 22, 3. $K_{20}$ . 22, 5. $H_{17}$ .



*khûrishn* vashtamûnam, va andarz vâdûnam; akhar, âs va mang barâ yehabûnêḍ. 23 Dastôbarân farmûḍ aîgh: Ham-gûnak vâdûn.

24 Va akhar, valmanshân dînô dastôbarânŏ, yîn mân-i mînavad, jînâk-*1*-i XXX gâm pavan zak-i khûp vajîḍ. 25 Va valman Vîrâf rôêshman va tanû barâ khalelûnḍ, va paḍmûjanŏ-i navak paḍmûkht, 26 pavan bôi khûsh barâ bôyînîḍ, pavan *tâkht-gâh-i* pasijakŏ vastarg *navak* dakyâ vastarḍ. 27 Val gâs vastar-i dakyâ barâ yetîbûnast, 28 va drôn yezbekhûnḍ, va *rûbânîkgân* aîyyâḍînîḍ, va khûrishn vashtamûnḍ. 29 Va akhar, valmanshân dînô dastôbarân âs va mang-i Vishtâspânŏ III jâm-i *zahabîn* mâlman karḍ; 30 afshân khadûk jâm pavan hûmat, va daḍîgar jâm pavan hûkht, va saḍîgar jâm pavan *hûvarsht*, frâz *val* Vîrâf

II. 22, 8. $K_{20}$ . 24, 9. D. $H_{17}$ omit . 26, 7. so in all. 26, 10. $K_{20}$ adds . 28, 5. $H_{17}$ . 29, 12. $H_{17}$ . 30, 15. $K_{20}$ adds final . 30, 17. $K_{20}$ .

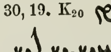
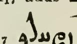
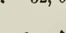
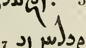
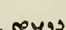


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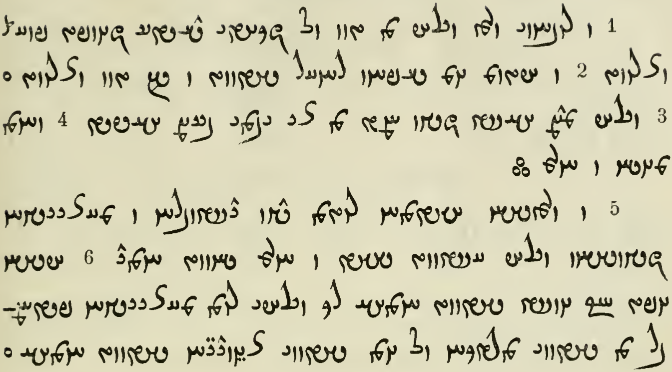
*yehabûnḍ;* 31 afash zak âs va mang barâ *vashtamûnḍ, va hûshyâryîsh* vâj barâ gûftô, va pavan vastarg khelmûnḍ.

32 Valmanshân dînô dastôbarân va haft *akhtmanân*, VII yôm-shapânŏ, pavan âtâsh hamîshak-sôj, va bôî-*vajarâk*, va nîrang-i dînôîk *avistâk va zand* barâ yemalelund; 33 va nask *yezbekhûnḍ*, va gâsân srûḍ, va pavan târîk pâs dâsht hômand. 34 Va valmanshân haft *akhtmanân* pavan *pîramûn-i* vastarg-*i* valman Vîrâf yetîbûnast hômand, 35 *va* haft yôm-shapân, avistâk *yezbekhûnḍ.* 36 Valmanshân haft *akhtmanân*, levatman hamâk Mâzdayasnân dînô dastôbarân, va aêrpatân, va magôpatân, pavan hîch *khadûînak* pânâkîh barâ lâ shedkûnḍ.

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II. 30, 19. $K_{20}$ . 31, 7. only in $H_{17}$. 31, 8. $H_{17}$ adds . 31, 9. $K_{20}$ . 32, 6. $H_{18}$ *zanā*. 32, 16. D. $H_{17}$ . 32, 20—22. $H_{17}$ om. 33, 3. $K_{20}$ . 34, 4. $H_{18}$ *zanā*. 34, 6. D. $H_{17}$ . 34, 7. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit . 35, 1. only in $H_{17}$, and inserted by Dest. 35, 6.  in all but $K_{20}$. 36, 3. $H_{18}$ *zanā*. 36, 15. B. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, N. add .

# Chapter III.



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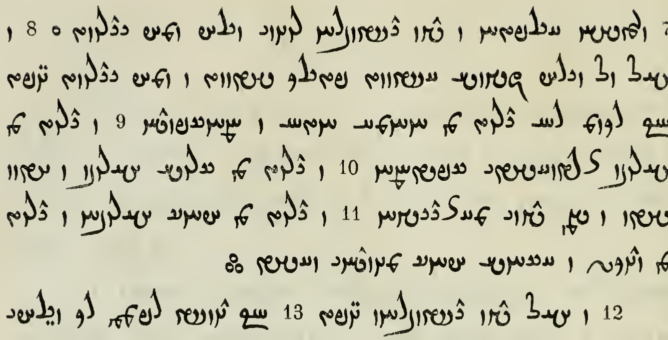
## Chapter III.

1 Va *rûbânô-i* valman Vîrâf min tanû val Chakât-*i* Dâîtîk Chînûvat pûhal vazlûnḍ; 2 va haftûm yôm-*shapânŏ lakhvâr* yâtûnḍ, va yîn tanû *vazlûnḍ*. 3 Vîrâf madam khâst, chîgûn amat min zak *khelmû-i* basîm akhêzîḍ, 4 Vohûman-mînishn va khûram.

5 Va valmanshân *akhtmanân*, levatman dînô dastôbarân va Mâzdayasnân, chîgûnshânŏ Vîrâf khadîtûnḍ, shâḍ va khûram yehevûnḍ hômand; 6 afshân gûft aîgh: Drûst yâtûnḍ *hômanyîh*, lak Vîrâf-i lanman Mâzdayasnân pêtkhambar, *min* shatrô-i mûrḍakân val denman shatrô-i zîvandakân, *yâtûnḍ hômanyîh.*

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III. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . — 1, 8. only in $H_6$, $K_{20}$. 2, 4—5. $K_{20}$ . 2, 10. $H_{18}$ adds *gumêkhta*. 3, 8. $H_{18}$ *qâva*, Pers. خواب; all others , which it would be hazardous to trace to Heb. דּוּמָה; Dest. suggests which occurs in the Kâr-nâmak-i Artakhshîr-i Pâpakân, and is here adopted. 5, 3. D. ; $H_{18}$ *zanû*. 6, 6. D. ; $H_{17}$ . 6, 12. $K_{20}$ prefixes . 6, 19—20. $H_{17}$ om. 6, 20. D. $K_{20}$ .



7 Valmanshân *aĉrpatûn* va dînô dastôbarân, *levînŏ-i* Vîrâf, namâz yedrûnḍ. 8 Va akhar, *val* Vîrâf, chîgûnash khadîtûnḍ, paḍîrak yâtûnḍ, va namâz yedrûnḍ, *gûft* aîgh: Lekûm *râî* drûḍ min Aûharmazd khûḍâî *va amahraspendân*; 9 va drûḍ min *yasharûbŏ Zaratûhasht*-i Spîtâmân; 10 va drûḍ min *Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô*, va *gadman* dînô-i Mâzdayasnân; 11 va drûḍ min avârîk yasharûbân; va drûḍ min nadûkîh va *âsânîh avârîk* mînavadân-i vahisht.

12 Va akhar, dînô *dastôbarânŏ* gûft 13 aîgh: Drûst *lipamman* lak, Vîrâf-i

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III. 7, 2. D. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 7, 6. D. [Pahlavi]; $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 8, 3. so in all but $K_{20}$, which omits it. 8, 12. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 8, 15. $K_{20}$ om. 8, 20. so in $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$; inserted by Dest.; $H_6$ [Pahlavi]. 8, 21. in all other places, $H_6$ has [Pahlavi] for the medial [Pahlavi]; and so also in $K_{26}$. 9, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 9, 5. $K_{20}$ always omits the medial [Pahlavi]. 10, 4—8. in this frequent phrase, $H_6$ has [Pahlavi] 72 times, [Pahlavi] 20 times, [Pahlavi] 9 times, and [Pahlavi] thrice; it also omits the conjunction [Pahlavi] 82 times. 10, 10. D. adds [Pahlavi]; $H_{18}$ *aja* = [Pahlavi]. 11, 11. $H_{17}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 11, 12. $H_{18}$ adds *asûû*. 12, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final [Pahlavi]. 13, 3. $H_{18}$ *dil* = [Pahlavi].

[illegible] 14 [illegible]

15 [illegible] 16 [illegible]

[illegible] 17 [illegible]

18 [illegible] 19 [illegible]

[illegible] 20 [illegible]

[illegible] 21 [illegible]

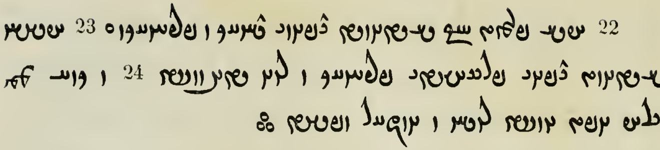
lanman Mâzdayasnân pêtkhambar; *afat drûḍ yehevûnâḍ* lakîch. 14 Kolâ mamanat khadîtûnḍ, râstyîsh val lanman yemalelûn.

15 Akhar, *valman* Vîrâf gûft aîgh: *Fratûm gûbishn* denman, 16 aîgh gûrsakân va tîshnakân nakhûst khûrishn yehabûntanŏ, 17 va akhar pûrsishn *minash* karḍanŏ, kâr farmûḍanŏ.

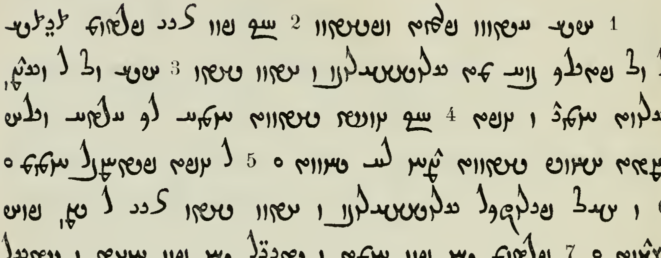
18 Akhar, dînô dastôbarân farmûḍ aîgh: *Khûsh* va basîm. 19 Va khûrishnŏ-i hû-pôkht va hû-bôî, va khûrḍîk, va sarḍ mayâ, *va* âs âvôrtô. 20 Afshân *drônô yezbekhûnḍ*; va Vîrâf vâj vakhdûnḍ, va *khûrishn* vashtamûnḍ, *va myazd* râyînîḍ, vâj barâ gûft. 21 Va stâyishn-i Aûharmazd *va ameshôspendân*, *va* sipâs-i Horvadaḍ va Amerôdaḍ *ameshôspendân* angârḍ, va *âfrînagânŏ* gûft.

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III. 13, 9. D. om. 13, 10. $K_{20}$ om. 13, 11. [illegible] in all but $H_{17}$. 15, 2. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 15, 6—7. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 17, 4. [illegible] in all but $K_{20}$. 18, 6. [illegible] in all but B. $H_{17}$. 19, 11. $H_{18}$ adds *qush*. 20, 2—3. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 20, 9. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 20, 11. only in $H_{17}$. 20, 12. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 21, 4. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ om. 21, 5. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible], here and elsewhere; and so also generally in modern MSS. 21, 6. only in $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$. 21, 11. plural only in D. 21, 14. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]; D. [illegible].



## Chapter IV.



22 Afash farmûḍ aîgh: Yâîtyûnêḍ dapîrŏ-i dânâk *va* farzânâkŏ. 23 Afshân yâîtyûnḍ dapîr-i frasâkht-i farzânâk, va levîn yetîbûnast; 24 *va* kolâ *maman* Vîrâf gûft, drûst, rôshan va gû-vajâr nipisht.

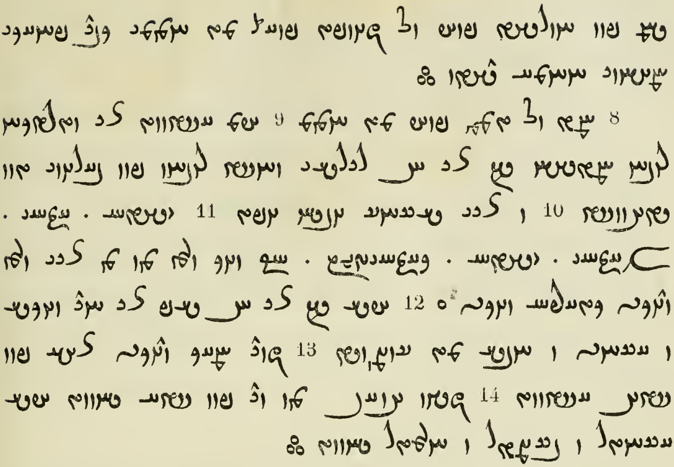
## Chapter IV.

1 Afash aêtûnŏ farmûḍ nipishtanŏ 2 aîgh: Pavan zak-i *fratûm* lêlyâ, li val paḍîrak barâ maḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô; 3 afash val li *nasadman* yedrûnḍ hômand, *va* gûft 4 aîgh: Drûst yâtûnḍ *hômanih* lak, Ardâ Vîrâf, amatat hâvandich *yâtûnḍ* damân lâ yehevûnḍ. 5 Li gûft: Pêtkhambar hômanam. 6 Va akhar, pîrûzkar Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, zak-i li yadman frâz vakhdûnḍ. 7 Fratûm gâm pavan hûmat, va daḍîgar gâm pavan hûkht, va saḍîgar

III. 22, 7. $K_{20}$ . 24, 1. all om. 24, 3. $K_{20}$ om.

IV. 2, 4. $K_{20}$ . 3, 4. $K_{20}$ . 3, 7. only in $H_{17}$. 4, 4. D. .

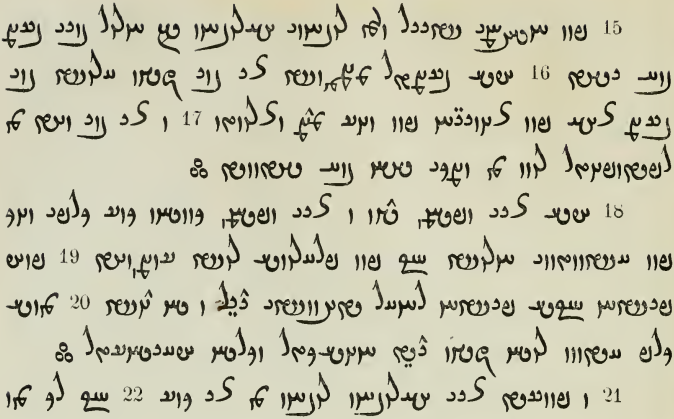
4, 10. D. $H_{17}$ .



gâm pavan hûvarsht, frâz val Chînûvat pûhal maḍ hômanam-*i* kabed-pânâk-*i* *amâvand* Aûharmazd-*dâtô*.

8 Amat val tamman frâz maḍ hômanam, 9 afam khadîtûnḍ zak *vaḍarḍakân* rûbân, amatshân yîn zak III lêlyâ-i *nakhûst*, rûbânô pavan bâlînô-i tanû yetîbûnast, 10 va zak-*i* gâsânîk gûbishn *gûft:* 11 'Ushtâ ahmâi yahmâi ushtâ kahmâichîḍ'; aîgh: Nadûk valman mûn min zak-i valman nadûkîh, kaḍârchâî nadûkîh. 12 Afash yîn zak III shap, zak and nadûkîh va âsânîh *va khûbîh* maḍ yekavîmûnêḍ, 13 chand hamâk nadûkîh zyash pavan stih khadîtûnḍ; 14 chîgûn gabrâ-I mûn vad pavan *stih* yehevûnḍ, azash âsântar va basîmtar *va* khûramtar yehevûnḍ.

IV. 7, 20. $K_{20}$ has for . 7, 22. only in $K_{20}$. 7, 23. so in all, but often written ; the *idhâfat* ought to be added. 7, 25. $K_{20}$ omits final . 9, 4. $K_{20}$ . 9, 11. $K_{20}$ adds final . 10, 2. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit . 10, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final . 11. quoted from Yasna XLIII. 1. 12, 11. all omit, but Dest. inserts. 12, 12. may be read *aûbash*, 'to him', if be omitted; $H_{18}$ *khush*, Sans. *sukham*. 14, 6. $H_{17}$ . 14, 12. only in D. $H_{17}$.

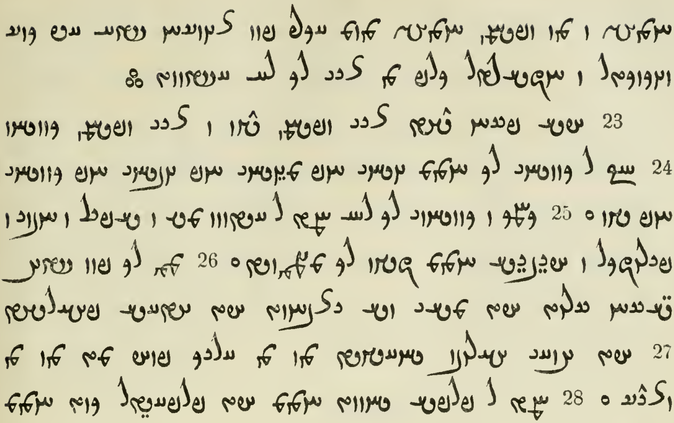


15 Pavan aûshbâm-i saḍîgar, valman rûbânô-i yasharûbânŏ yîn *aûrvar* bôî-i basîm barâ *gasht*; 16 afash basîmtar medammûnast *zak bôî* chîgûn harvist bô-i basîm, zyash pavan zîvandakân pavan *vînîk* madam *vazlûntô;* 17 va zak bôî vâḍ min rapîtûvîntar rûnŏ, min nêmak-i Yadadân, barâ *yâtûnêḍ.*

18 Afash zak-i nafshman dînô va zak-i nafshman *kûnishnŏ* kanîk kerp-i nadûk, pavan *khadîtûntanŏ-i hû-rûst*, aîgh pavan frârûnîh rûst, yekavîmûnâḍ; 19 frâz-pêstân, aîghash pêstân lakhvâr yetîbûnast,-i *dîl va jân dôst*; 20 mûnash kerp *aêtûnô* rôshan chîgûn dîḍ hû-dôsh-aktar, *nikirishn* avâyishnîktar.

21 Va pûrsîḍ zak-i yasharûbânŏ *rûbânô* min zak kanîk 22 aîgh: Lak mûn

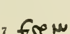
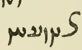
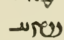
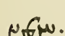
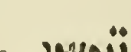
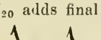
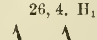
IV. 15, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 15, 12. $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]. 16, 4—5. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 16, 14. so in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$; [Pahlavi] in D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$. 16, 16. final [Pahlavi] only in $H_6$. 17, 12. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 18, 8. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final [Pahlavi]. 18, 13. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 18, 14. [Pahlavi] in all but $H_{17}$. 19, 7—10. [Pahlavi] in all; $H_{18}$ *dîrang dôst*, Sans. *dîrghamitraḥ;* Dest. suggests [Pahlavi]. 20, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final [Pahlavi]. 20, 8. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]; $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 21, 5. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final [Pahlavi].

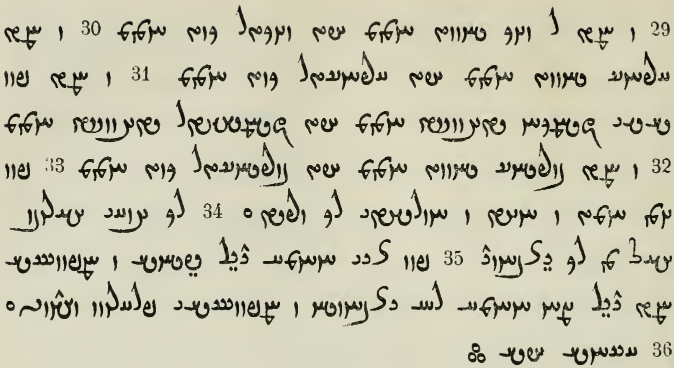


hômanyîh? va mûn nafshman *hômanyîh? mûnam* akaraz, *pavan zîvandakân stih, hîch kanîk nadûkâktar va hû-chîhartar kerp* min zak-i lak lâ khadîtûnḍ.

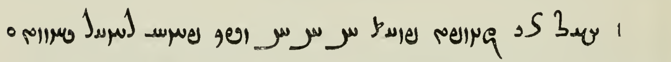
23 Afash pasukhô dâḍ zak-i nafshman dînô va zak-*i* nafshman kûnishnŏ, 24 aîgh: Li *kûnishn-i* lak *hômanam*, *yûdân-i* khûp *mînishn*-i khûp gûbishn-i khûp *kûnishn*-i khûp dînô. 25 Kâmak va kûnishnŏ-i lak râî, amat li aêtûnŏ mas va shapîr va hû-bôî va pîrûzkar va avîbêsh hômanam, chîgûn lak medammûnêḍ. 26 Maman lak, pavan *stih*, *gâsân srûḍ*, afat mayâ-i vêh yezbekhûnḍ, afat âtâsh pâhrîkht; 27 afat gabrâ-i yasharûbŏ shinâyînîḍ, mûn min arîk frâz maḍ, mûn min nazdîk. 28 Amat li farpîh yehevûnḍ hômanam, afat *farpahîtar* karḍ hômanam;

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IV. 22, 8. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 22, 9. $H_{17}$ . 22, 11—19. only in $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$; but $K_{20}$ has  before . 23, 8.  only in $H_{17}$. 24, 3.  only in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$; $K_{20}$ prefixes  and adds final . 24, 5. $K_{20}$ . 24, 6. $H_6$ ; $H_{18}$ Pâz. om., Sans. *he sundara*. 24, 8, 12. $K_{20}$ adds final . 26, 4. $H_{17}$ . 26, 5—6. $H_{18}$ *dihishni dâḍ*. 28, 7. D. ; $H_{17}$ .



## Chapter V.



29 va *amat li* nadûk yehevûnḍ hômanam, afat nadûktar karḍ *hômanam*; 30 va *amat* arjânîk yehevûnḍ hômanam, afat arjânîktar karḍ hômanam; 31 va amat pavan gâs-*i* chashmakân yetîbûnast hômanam, afat chashmakîshtar yetîbûnast hômanam; 32 va amat bûrzishnîk *yehevûnḍ* hômanam, afat bûrzishnîktar karḍ hômanam; 33 pavan denman hûmat va hûkht va hûvarsht-i lak varzîḍ. 34 Lak gabrâ-i yasharûbŏ akhar min lak *yezbekhûnd*, 35 pavan zak-i Aûharmazd dêr yazishnîh *va hampûrsakîh, amat dêr damân Aûharmazd râî yezbekhûnishn* va *hampûrsakîh-i* frârûnŏ vâdûnîh. 36 Âsânîh azash.

## Chapter V.

1 Akhar, zak Chînûvat pûhal IX nîzak pahnâî lakhvâr yehevûnḍ.

IV. 29, 2—3. so in $H_{17}$; in D., which words are struck out of $H_6$; $H_{18}$ only in Sans. *yat aham;* all others om. 29, 10. $H_6$. 30, 2. only in $H_{17}$. 31, 4. only in $K_{26}$. 32, 4. in all but D. $K_{20}$. 34, 7. so in all; also in Hâḍôkht Nask, for Z. *yazentê;* compare XVII. 26. 35, 6—13. only in $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$, and in Hâḍôkht Nask. 35, 15. $K_{20}$.

2 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 3 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 4 [illegible]
[illegible] 5 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

6 [illegible] 7 [illegible]
[illegible]

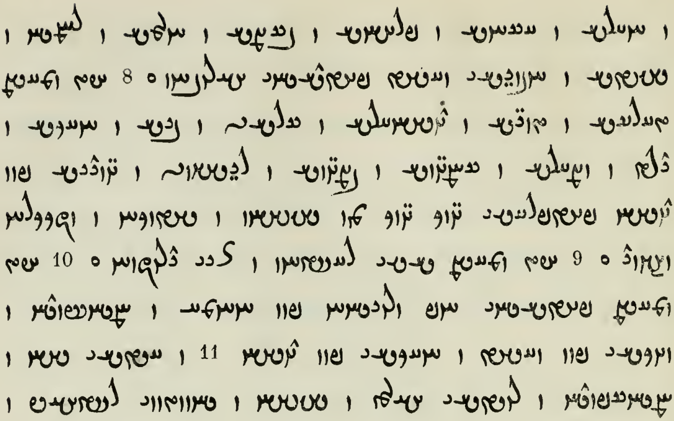
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2 Li pavan avâkîh-i Srôsh-yasharûbŏ va Âtarô yêdatô, pavan Chînûvat pûhal, khvâryîsh va farâkhûyîsh va tag-dilîryîsh va pîrûzkaryîsh barâ vaḏarḏ hômanam. 3 Kabed pânâkîh-i Mitrô yêdatô, *va* Rashnû-i rajistak, va Vâî vêh, va Vâhrâm yêdatô amâvand, va Ashtâḏ yêdatô frêhdâḏâr-*i* gêhân, va gadman-*i* dînô-*i* shapîr-*i* Mâzdayasnân; 4 va fravyashar-i yasharûbânŏ, va avârîk *mînavadânŏ* val li, Arḏâ Vîrâf, *nakhûst nasadman yedrûnḏ hômand.* 5 *Afam dîḏ*, *li Arḏâ Vîrâf*, *Rashn*-i râst, *mûn* tarâzûk-i zarḏ-i *zarîn* pavan yadman dâsht, va yasharûbânŏ va darvandân andâzîḏ.

6 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, yadman-i li *frâz* vakhdûnḏ, 7 va gûft aîgh: Barâ yâtûn, *vad val* lak numâyêm vahisht va dûshahû, va rôshanîh,

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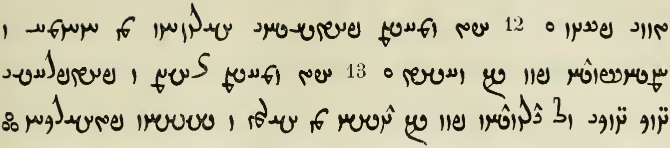
V. 3, 5. only in $K_{20}$. 3, 18, 22. [illegible] only in $H_{17}$. 3, 21. [illegible] only in $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$. 3, 23. all omit [illegible]. 4, 6. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final [illegible]. 4, 11.—5, 5. only in $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$; $H_{17}$ has only [illegible]. 4, 12. $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 5, 6, 11. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 5, 8. 6, 9. $K_{20}$ om. 7, 6. $H_{17}$, $H_{18}$ om. 7, 7. $K_{20}$ [illegible].



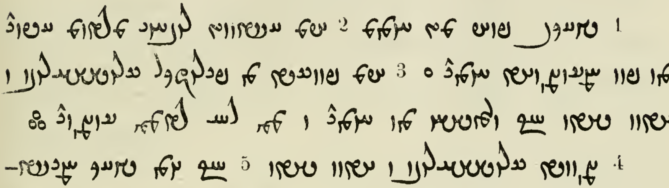
va khvârîh, va âsânîh, va farâkhûîh, *va* basîmîh, va khûramîh, va râmishn, va shâḍîh, va hû-bôîîh-i vahisht *pâḍadahishn*-i *yasharûbânŏ.* 8 Afat numâyêm târîkîh, va tangîh, va dûsh-khvârîh, va saryâîh, va bêsh, va anâkîh, va darḍ, va vîmârîh, va sahmgûnîh, *va bîmgûnîh,* va rêshgûnîh, va gôndakîh pavan dûshahû pâḍafrâs-i gûnak gûnak *mûn shêdâânŏ* va yâtûkân va *vazak-karân* vâdûnd. 9 Afat numâyêm gâs-*i râstânŏ,* va zak-i drôjôân. 10 Afat *numâyêm* pâḍadahishn-i khûp-varôîsh-nân pavan Aûharmazd va ameshôspendân; va nadûkîh-*i* pavan vahisht, va anâkîh-*i* pavan *dûshahû;* 11 va aîtîh-*i* Yadadân va ameshôspendân, va lôîtîh-*i Akharman* va shêdâân, va yehevûntanŏ-i rist-âkhîz va

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V. 7, 21. $K_{20}$ adds [illegible]. 7, 32. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 7, 33. the final [illegible] is read as the conj. [illegible] *va* in D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$, and omitted in $K_{26}$. 8, 20—21. only in $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$; $K_{20}$ omitting [illegible] *va.* 8, 31. $K_{20}$ om.; all others [illegible]. 8, 32. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final [illegible]. 8, 36. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 9, 3. [illegible] only in $H_{17}$. 9, 4. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final [illegible]. 10, 2. $H_6$ [illegible]. 10, 11. [illegible] only in D. $H_6$. 10, 15. [illegible] only in D. 10, 17. D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$ add final [illegible]. 11, 2. [illegible] only in D. 11, 7. [illegible] only in $H_6$, $K_{26}$. 11, 8. written upside down in $H_6$, here and in most other places; $K_{20}$ [illegible].



## Chapter VI.



tanû-i pasînŏ. 12 Afat *numâyêm pâḏadahishn-i* yasharûbânŏ, min Aûharmazd va ameshôspendân, pavan yîn vahisht. 13 Afat *numâyêm zâkham va* pâḏafrâs-i gûnak gûnak-i *val darvandânŏ*, pavan yîn dûsh-ahû, min *Akharman* va shêdââ̂nŏ *patîyârakân.*

## Chapter VI.

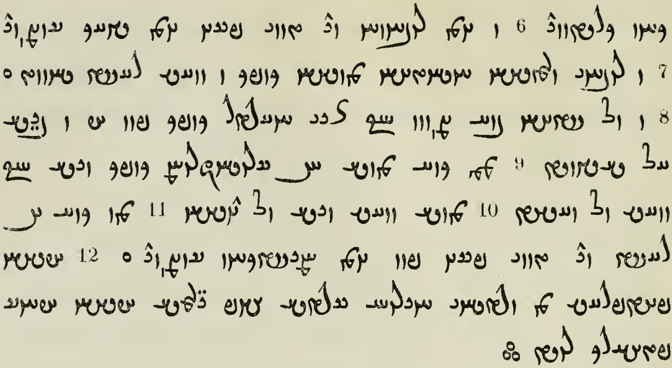
1 Jînâk-I frâz maḏ hômanam, 2 afam khadîtûnḏ rûbân-i marḏûm aêchand mûn pavan ham-yekavîmûnâḏ hômand. 3 Afam pûrsîḏ min pîrûzkar Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh: Valmanshân mûn hômand? va maman râî latamman yekavîmûnd?

4 Yemaleluneḏ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: *Denman jînâk* hamîsta-

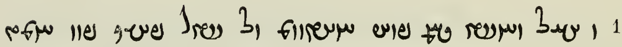
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V. 12, 2. $H_6$ [Pahlavi]. 12, 3. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 13, 2. $H_6$ [Pahlavi]. 13, 3. [Pahlavi] in all but $K_{20}$ here; but [Pahlavi] occurs five times elsewhere in D. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, and thrice in $K_{26}$; and [Pahlavi] occurs once in D. $K_{26}$. 13, 4. $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]; all others omit [Pahlavi] here, but D. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ insert it five times, in the same phrase, elsewhere. 13, 8. D. $K_{20}$ om. 13, 9. $K_{20}$ omits final [Pahlavi]. 13, 14. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi]. 13, 17. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi].

VI. 5, 2. only in $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. 5, 3. D. $H_{17}$ add [Pahlavi].



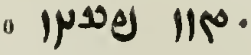
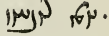
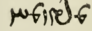
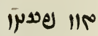
## Chapter VII.

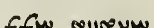


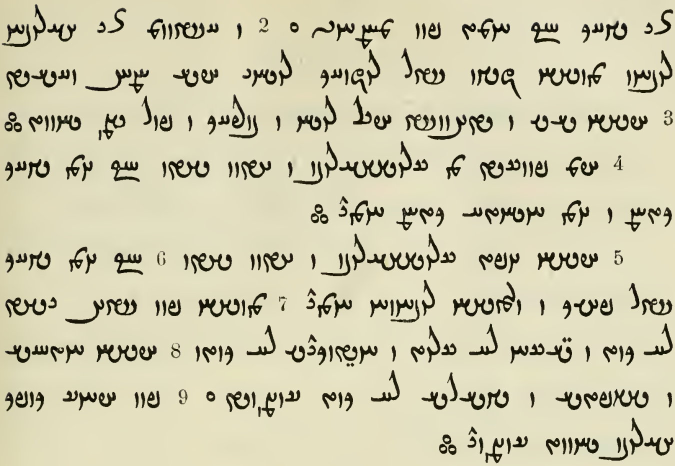
kânŏ karîtûnd; 6 va denman rûbânôân, vad *tanû-i pasîn*, denman jînâk yekavîmûnd; 7 va *rûbân-i* valmanshân *anshûtâân* mûnshân kirfak va vanâs râst yehevûnd. 8 Va val stihân barâ yemalelûn aîgh: Zak-i khvârtar kirfak pavan âz va bêsh al yakhsenunêḍ, 9 maman kolâ mûnash III srôshô-charanâm *kirfak* vêsh aîgh vanâs, val vahisht; 10 mûnash vanâs vêsh, val dûshahû; 11 mûn kolâ II râst, vad *tanû-i pasîn, pavan* denman hamîstakânŏ yekavîmûnd. 12 *Afshân pâḍafrâs* min varḍishn-i andarvâî sarḍîh, ayûf garmîh; afshân avârîk patîyârak lôît.

## Chapter VII.

1 Va akhar, nakhûst gâm frâz *hankhetûnam* val star pâyak, pavan Hûmat,

VI. 6, 5—6. $K_{20}$ . 7, 2. $H_{17}$ . 7, 4.  in D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$. 9, 6. $K_{20}$ adds final . 11, 6—7. $K_{20}$ . 11, 8. D. om. 12, 1—2. $K_{20}$ om.

VII. 1, 6. $H_{17}$ .



zak jînâk aîgh hûmat *pavan mahmânîh.* 2 Va *khadîtûnam zak yasharûbân* rûbânô mûnshân, chîgûn *star* rôchanâk, rôshan-i azash *hamâî vakhshîḍ*; 3 afshân gâs va yetîbûnast *azîr* rôshan, va bûrzâk va pûr-gadman yehevûnḍ.

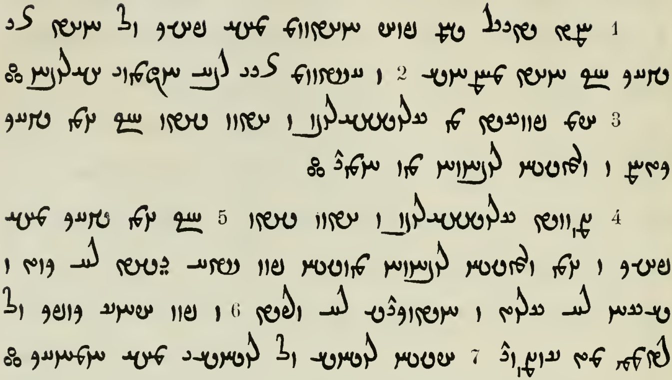
4 Afam pûrsîḍ min Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh: Denman jînâk *kaḍâm?* va denman anshûtâ kaḍâm hômand?

5 Afshân gûft Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman jînâk star pâyak; va valmanshân *rûbânôân* hômand 7 mûnshân, pavan stih, yesht lâ karḍ, va gâsân lâ srûḍ, va khvêtûk-das lâ *kartô*; 8 afshân *khûḍâyîh* va dahyûpatîh va sardârîh lâ *karḍ yekavîmûnêḍ.* 9 Pavan avârîk kirfak yasharûbŏ yehevûnḍ yekavîmûnd.

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VII. 1, 16. $H_{17}$ om. 1, 17. D. . 2, 2. $H_{17}$ . 2, 3. $K_{20}$ adds . 2, 4. $K_{20}$ adds final . 2, 8. $K_{20}$ adds . 2, 12. $K_{20}$ . 2, 13. D. $H_{18}$ . 3, 5. should be read *avîr,* if *rôshan* be taken as an adj. 4, 11. D. . 6, 8. $H_{17}$ . 7, 14. $K_{20}$ omits final . 8, 2. D. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ . 8, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final . 8, 9. $H_{17}$ has for .

# Chapter VIII.



## Chapter VIII.

1 *Amat* daḍîgar gâm frâz *hankhetûnam* mâh pâyak *val* Hûkht, zak jînâk aîgh *hûkht* mahmânîh; 2 va *khadîtûnam zak-i* rabâ hanjamanô-i *yâsharûbân.*

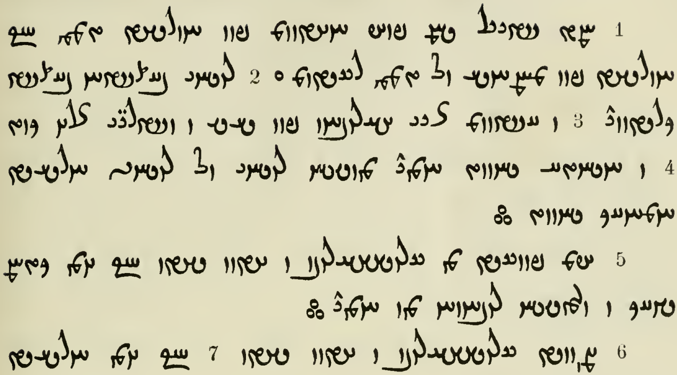
3 Afam pûrsîḍ min Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh: Denman jînâk kaḍâm? va valmanshân rûbânôân mûn hômand?

4 *Yemalelunêḍ* Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman jînâk mâh pâyak; va *denman* valmanshân *rûbânôân* mûnshân, pavan *stih*, yesht lâ karḍ, va gâsân lâ srûḍ, va khvêtûk-das lâ varzîḍ; 6 *va* pavan avârîk kirfak val latamman maḍ yekavîmûnd; 7 *afshân* rôshanîh val rôshanîh-i mâh hûmânâk.

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VIII. 1, 1. $H_{17}$ adds . 1, 5. $H_{17}$ . 1, 8. $H_{17}$ . 1, 13. $H_{17}$ adds . 2, 2. $H_{17}$ . 2, 3. D. adds . 2, 6. $K_{20}$ . 4, 1. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ omit nine sentences, from this to IX. 5, 16. 5, 7. D. om. 5, 9. $K_{20}$ om. 5, 12. $H_{17}$ . 6, 1. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ om. 7, 1. D. prefixes ; $H_6$ prefixes .

# Chapter IX.



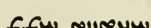
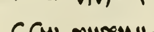
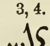
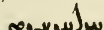
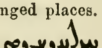
## Chapter IX.

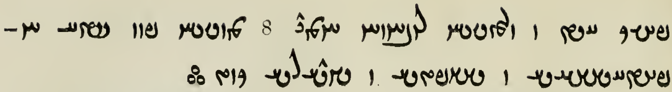
1 Amat saḏîgar gâm frâz *hankhetûnam* pavan *Hûvarsht*, tamman aîgh hûvarsht pavan mahmânîh, val tamman rasîḏôm. 2 Rôshan-i bâlistân bâlist karîtûnd; 3 *va khadîtûnam* zak-i *yasharûbânŏ* pavan gâs va vastarg-*i zarîn*-karḏ; 4 va *anshûtâ* yehevûnḏ hômand, mûnshân *rôshanî* val *rôshanîh khûrshêḏ* hûmânâk yehevûnḏ.

5 Afam pûrsîḏ min Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh: Denman kaḏâm jînâk? va valmanshân rûbânôân mûn hômand?

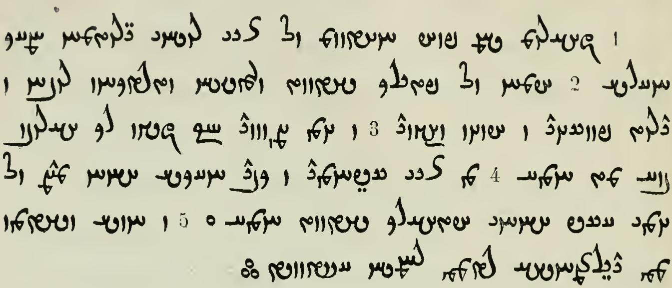
6 Yemaleluneḏ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: *Denman khûrshêḏ*

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IX. 1, 5. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ ; $H_{17}$ . 1, 7. $K_{20}$ adds final . 3, 1. D. om. 3, 2. $H_{17}$ . 3, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final , and adds . 3, 8.  only in D. $H_{17}$. 3, 9. $K_{20}$ . 4, 2. so in all, but Dest. suggests . 4, 6, 8. so in all, but the text would be better if these two words changed places. 4, 9. $H_6$ . 7, 2. D. adds . 7, 3. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ .



## Chapter X.



pâyak aît; va valmanshân rûbânôân hômand 8 *mûnshân*, pavan stih, *hû*-pâḏakhshâhîh va dahyûpatîh va sardârîh *karḏ.*

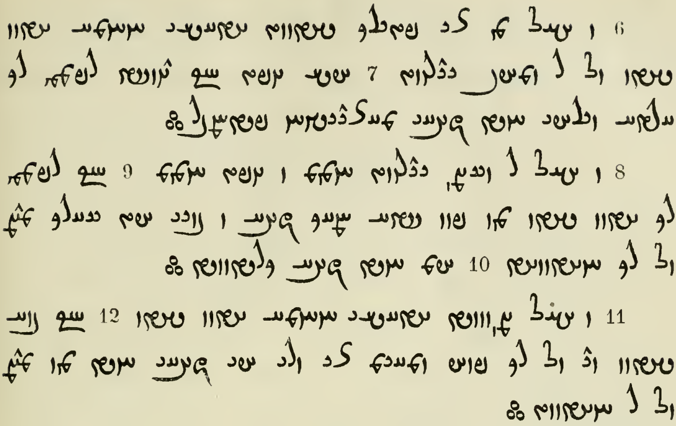
## Chapter X.

1 *Chahârûm* gâm frâz *hankhetûnam* val zak-i rôshan-i Garôḏmân hamâk khvârîh; 2 afmân val paḏîrak *yâtûnḏ valmanshân vaḏarḏakânŏ rûbân*, *va drûḏ* pûrsênd, va âfrînô vâdûnd, 3 va denman yemalelûnd aîgh: Chîgûn lak yasharûbŏ barâ maḏ *hômanih?* 4 min zak-i sêj-hômand va kabed-*anâkîh* ahvân, madam val denman-i asêj ahvân-i apatîyârak yâtûnḏ *hômanih.* 5 Va anôsh vashtamûn, maman dêr-zamânyîsh latamman *râmishn khadîtûnêḏ.*

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IX. 8, 1. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 8, 4. D. $K_{26}$ have [illegible] for [illegible]. 8, 9. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible].

X. 1, 1. $K_{20}$ prefixes [illegible]. 1, 4. $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 2, 4–6. the original MS. must have been almost illegible here; $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ read as in the text; D. has [illegible] for [illegible]; $H_6$ has [illegible] (blank space) [illegible]; $H_{17}$ omits [illegible] and leaves a blank space for words 7—9; $K_{20}$ has only [illegible]. 2, 7—9. $H_{17}$ om. 3, 10. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 4, 6. $K_{20}$ adds [illegible]. 4, 15. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 5, 7. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 5, 8. $H_{17}$ [illegible].



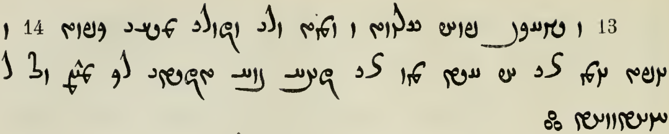
6 Va akhar min zak, paḍîrak *yâtûnḍ* âtâsh-i Aûharmazd Âtarô yêdatô; val li namâz-*I* yedrûnḍ, 7 afash gûft aîgh: Drûst *lipamman* lak Arḍâ Vîrâf-i khavîḍ chîbâ-i Mâzdayasnân pêtkhambar.

8 Va akhar, li *nasadman* yedrûnḍ *hômanam*, va gûft *hômanam* 9 aîgh: *Lipamman* lak, Âtarô yêdatô, mûn pavan *stih*, hamâk *chîbâ* va bôî-i haft sâlak madam val lak hankhetûnâḍ, 10 afam khavîḍ chîbâ karîtûnêḍ.

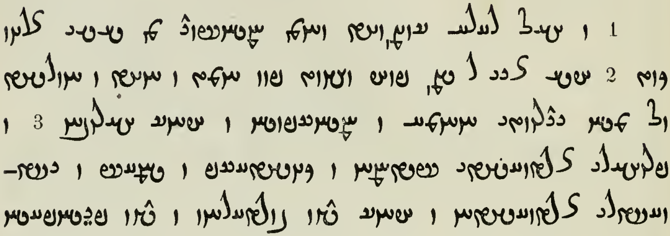
11 Va akhar, yemalelûnêḍ âtâsh-i *Aûharmazd* Âtarô yêdâtô 12 aîgh: Barâ yâtûn, vad val lak *frâz numâyam zak var-i* âv-i chîbâ-i khavîḍ mûn madam val li hankhetûnḍ.

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X. 6, 6. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 6, 13. D. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ have [Pahlavi], and $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi], for [Pahlavi]; $H_{17}$ omits it. 7, 5. $H_{18}$ *del* = [Pahlavi]. 8, 4. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 8, 6. D. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 8, 9. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 9, 2. $H_{18}$ *ôrâ* = [Pahlavi]. 9, 8. $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]; $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 9, 10. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 11, 5. all but $H_{17}$ add [Pahlavi]. 12, 7. $K_{20}$ om. 12, 8. D. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 12, 9—10. D. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi].



## Chapter XI.



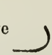
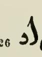
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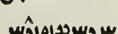
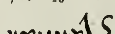
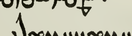
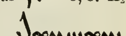
13 Va jînâk-I frâz yedrûnḍ, va numûḍ var-*i vazûrg mayâ-i* kapûḍ, 14 va gûft: Denman zak âv aît mûn zak chîbâ barâ tajîḍ-i lak madam val li hankhetûnâḍ.

### Chapter XI.

1 Va akhar, *lâlâ* yekavîmûnâḍ Vohûman *ameshôspend* min gâs-i zarînô-karḍ; 2 afash zak-i li yadman frâz vakhdûnḍ; pavan hûmat va hûkht va *hûvarsht*, val miyân yedrûnḍ-i Aûharmazd, va ameshôspendân, va avârîk yasharûbân, 3 va fravyashar-i *Zaratûhasht-i* Spîtâmân, va Kaî-Vishtâsp, va Jâmâsp, va *Isaḍvâstar-i Zaratûhashtân*, va *avârîk* dînô bûrḍârânŏ *va* dînô *pêshûpâyân*

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X. 13, 7, 9. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ have  for . 13, 8. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $K_{26}$ . 13, 9. all but $K_{20}$ have  for .

XI. 1, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 1, 6. $K_{20}$ . 2, 12. $K_{20}$ adds final . 3, 3. $K_{20}$ . 3, 10. D. ; $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. . 3, 11. final  only in $K_{20}$. 3, 13. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ om. 3, 16. $H_{16}$ omits from this to 7, 6. 3, 18. $K_{20}$ .

4 [illegible]

5 [illegible] * * * * *

[A lacuna exists here, in all the old MSS., owing probably to the loss of a folio in the original copy, whence they were all derived. $H_6$ leaves a blank space of 21 lines = 17 lines of this printed text; $K_{20}$ leaves no space between [illegible] and [illegible]; $K_{26}$ leaves a space of 35 lines = 25 lines of this printed text; $H_{17}$ supplies the words [illegible] to connect this sentence with the next; and Destur Hoshangji suggests that [illegible] is enough for that purpose.]

6 [illegible] 7 [illegible]

8 [illegible]

[illegible] 9 [illegible]

[illegible] 10 [illegible]

[illegible] 11 [illegible]

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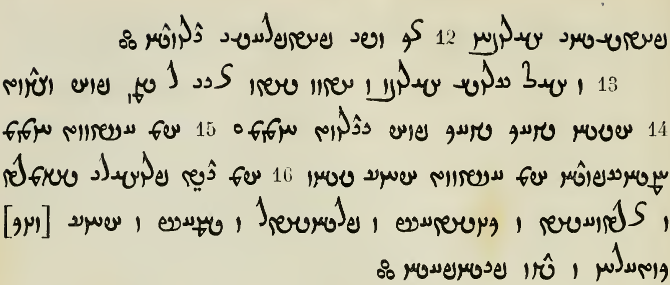
4 mûnam *akaraz* min zak rôshantar va nadûktar lâ khadîtûnḍ hômanam.

5 Va Vohûman *barâ* [*gûft*] 6 aîgh: Denman aît Aûharmazd. 7 Afam yezbemûnast pavan pêshîh namâz yedrûntanŏ.

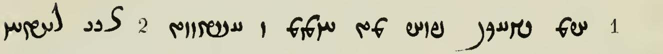
8 Afash val li *gûft* aîgh: Namâz val lak, Arḍâ Vîrâf, drûst *yâtûnḍ hômanih;* 9 min *zak* sêj-hômand stih, val denman avêjak jînâk-i rôshan yâtûnḍ *hômanih.* 10 Afash farmûḍ val Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 11 *aîghash* yedrûnêḍ Arḍâ Vîrâf, barâ numâyêḍ gâs va

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XI. 4, 2. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 5, 3. D. [illegible]; $H_6$ [illegible]; $H_{17}$ om.; $K_{20}$ [illegible] seems altered to [illegible]; $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 5, 4. supplied by Dest. to fill the blank space existing in most MSS.; $H_{17}$ adds [illegible]. 8, 4. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 8, 12. D. [illegible]; $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 8, 13. D. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 9, 2. $H_{17}$ adds [illegible]. 9, 11. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 11, 1. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible].



## Chapter XII.



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*pâḍadahishn-i* yasharûbân, 12 *zak-nîz-i pâḍafrâs-i darvandân.*

13 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbŏ va Âtarô yêdatô zak-i li yadman frâz vakhdûnḍ; 14 afshân jînâk jînâk frâz yedrûnḍ *hômanam.* 15 *Afam khadîtûnḍ* hômanam ameshôspendân, afam khadîtûnḍ avârîk *yadadânŏ*; 16 afam *dîḍ* fravyashar-i *Gâyômarḍ*, va Zaratûhasht, va Kaî-Vishtâsp, va Frashôshtar, *va* Jâmâsp, va avârîk [*nadûk*] karḍârân va dînô pêshûpâyân.

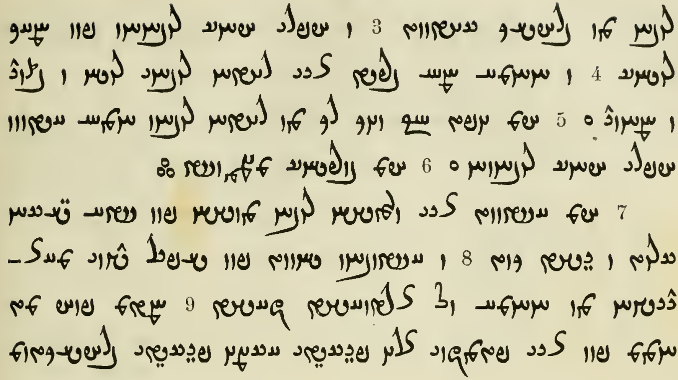
### Chapter XII.

1 *Afam* jînâk-I frâz maḍ hômanam, *va khadîtûnḍ* 2 zak-i *râḍân*

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XI. 11,9. $H_6$, $H_{17}$ . 12,1—2. D. ; $H_{17}$ ; $H_{18}$ *nîja*, Sans. *nimnasthâne*; $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit . 12,3—4. $K_{20}$ . 14,6. only in $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$. 15,1. $H_{17}$ ; $K_{20}$ . 15,2. $K_{20}$ . 15,8. $K_{20}$ omits final . 16,2. $H_{17}$ . 16,4. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ ; $H_{18}$ *ashô mard.* 16,11. only in $H_{17}$. 16,15. inserted by Dest.

XII. 1,1. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ add here, and omit 1,6—7. 1,6. inserted by Dest. 2,2. $K_{20}$ adds final .

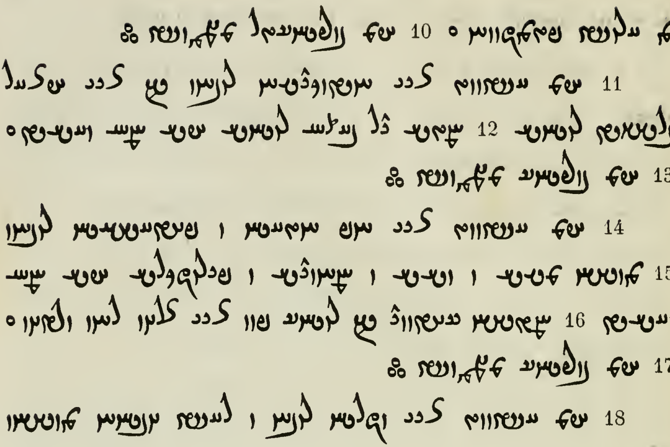


rûbân mûn barâzishak *sâtûnd*, 3 va azvar-*i* avârîk *rûbânânŏ*, pavan hamâk rôshanîk; 4 va Aûharmazd *hamâî* burzêḍ zak-i *râḍân* rûbân-*i* rôshan va buland va amâvand. 5 Afam gûft aîgh: Nadûk lak *mûn* râḍân rûbânô *hômanih-i âêtûnŏ* azvar-*i* avârîk rûbânôân! 6 Afam *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

7 Afam khadîtûnḍ *zak-i* valmanshân rûbân mûnshân, pavan *stîh*, gâsân srûḍ, va *yesht karḍ*, 8 va astôbânŏ yehevûnḍ pavan *shapîr* dînô-*i* Mâzdayasnân, mûn Aûharmazd val Zaratûhasht châsht; 9 *amatam frâz maḍ hômanam*, pavan zak-i paḍmûjan-i *zarîn*-pêsîḍ-i *asîmîn-pêsîḍ-i barâzishaktûm*

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XII. 2, 6. $H_{18}$ *âmaḍ* = ; all others ; Dest. suggests . 3, 2. inserted by Dest. 3, 4. $K_{20}$ . 4, 3. $K_{20}$ . 4, 6. $K_{20}$ adds final . 4, 7. only in $H_{17}$. 5, 6. D. . 5, 9. D. $H_{17}$ . 5, 10. D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$ ; $K_{26}$ . 5, 11. only in $H_{17}$. 6, 2. $H_{17}$ has for . 7, 3. $H_{17}$ . 7, 8. $K_{20}$ . 7, 12, 13. $K_{20}$ adds final to both. 8, 5. $H_{17}$ . 8, 6. only in $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$. 9, 1—4. omitted in $H_{17}$, and seem either misplaced, or superfluous; $H_{18}$ Sans. *tasmin utkṛishṭatare bhuvane prâpto 'ham.* 9, 1. $K_{20}$ . 9, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final . 9, 10—11. $K_{20}$ om. 9, 12. $K_{20}$ has for .



min harvist paḍmûjanŏân. 10 *Afam bûrzishnîktar* medammûnast.

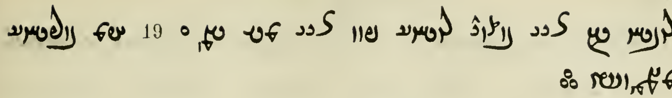
11 *Afam* khadîtûnḍ zak-i khvêtûkdasân rûbânô yîn zak-i afzâr-*barĕhînîḍ* rôshanîh; 12 amatash dar bâlâî rôshanîh azash *hamâî* vakh-shîḍ. 13 Afam bûrzishnîk medammûnast.

14 Afam khadîtûnḍ *zak-i* khûp khûḍâyân *va* pâḍakhshâyân rûbânô, 15 mûnshân masîh va vêhîh va amâvandîh va pîrûzkarîh azash *hamâî* vakhshîḍ; 16 amatshân *sâtûnd yîn rôshanîk* pavan zak-i zarînô *rânô-varḍînô.* 17 Afam *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

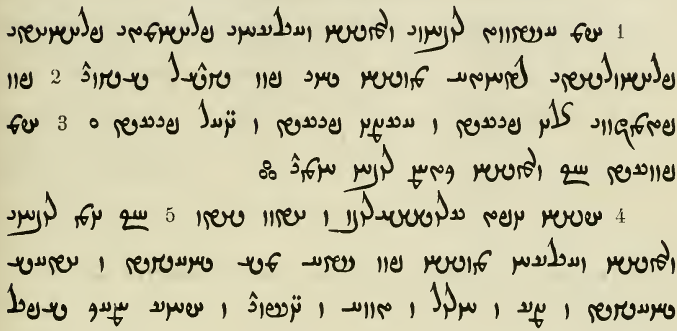
18 Afam khadîtûnḍ zak-i vazurgân rûbân va *râst*-gûbishnân, *mûnshânŏ*

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XII. 10, 1. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 10, 2. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]; $H_{17}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 11, 1—13, 3. $H_{17}$, P. om. 11, 9. D. [illegible]. 12, 6. D. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 14, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 14, 6. all om. 15, 10. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 16, 2. $H_{17}$, $H_{18}$ have [illegible] for [illegible]. 16, 3—4. $H_{17}$ om. 16, 8—9. $H_{17}$, P. [illegible] [illegible]; $H_{18}$ as in text, Sans. *sthâne paribhramanti;* compare *rânapânô,* Vend. XIV. 9. See ch. XIV. 9. 17, 2. $H_{17}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 18, 7. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 18, 9. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible].



## Chapter XIII.

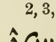


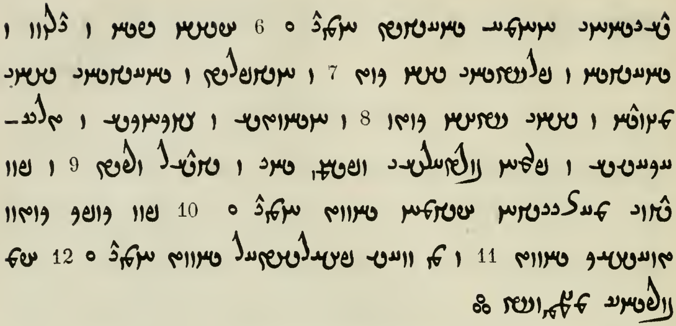
rûbishn yîn zak-i *bûland* rôshanîk pavan zak-i mas gadman. 19 Afam *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

## Chapter XIII.

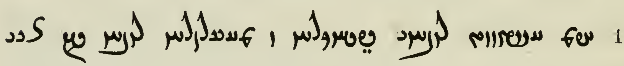
1 Afam khadîtûnd rûbânô-i valmanshân nâîrîkân-i frâ-hûmat-i frâ-hûkht-i frâ-hûvarsht-i *rad-khûdâ* (n above the ḍ), mûnshân shûî pavan sardâr *yakhsenund*, 2 pavan padmûjanŏ-i *zarîn*-pêsîḍ va *asîmîn*-pêsîḍ va gôhar-pêsîḍ. 3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Valmanshân kaḍâm rûbân hômand?

4 Afshân gûft Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman *rûbân*-i valmanshân *nâîrîkân* mûnshân, pavan stih, mayâ shnâyînîḍ, va âtâsh shnâyînîḍ, va damîk va *aûrvar* va tôrâ va gôspend va avârîk hamâk shapîr

XII. 18, 13. D. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 19, 2. $H_{17}$ has  for ; $K_{20}$ has  for .
XIII. 1, 9. D. om.; $K_{20}$ has  for ; compare *ratukhshathra*, Hâḍôkht Nask II. 39. 1, 14. D. has , and $H_{17}$ , for . 2, 3, 6. $K_{20}$ adds final  to both. 5, 3. $K_{20}$ adds final . 5, 5. $K_{20}$ adds . 5, 17. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ add .



## Chapter XIV.



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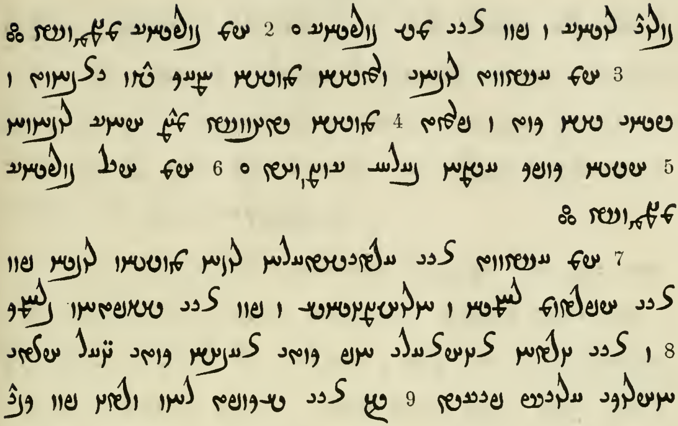
dahîshnân-i Aûharmazd shnâyînîḍ hômand. 6 *Afshân* yazishn va drônô, *va shnâyînishn* va *parastishn*-i Yadadân karḍ; 7 va *aûsôfrîḍ* va *shnâyînishn*-i yadadân-i mînavadân, va yadadân-i stihân, kartô; 8 va khûshnûḍîh, va khadûkânakîh, va tars-âkâsîh, va farmân-bûrḍ-ârîh-i nafshman shûî va sardâr varzîḍ; 9 va pavan dînô-i Mâzdayasnân avî-gûmân yehevûnḍ hômand. 10 Pavan nakirfak karḍanŏ tûkhshâk yehevûnḍ; 11 va min vanâs pâhrîkhtâr yehevûnḍ hômand. 12 Afam *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

## Chapter XIV.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i yazishnkarân, va *mâsrabarân rûbân*, yîn zak-i

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XIII. 6, 1. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 6, 5. only in $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$. 6, 6. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for final [Pahlavi]; in $H_6$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi] is altered into [Pahlavi]. 6, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final [Pahlavi]. 7, 2. so in $H_6$, $K_{26}$; $H_{18}$ *husifrîḍ*, Sans. *nishchalam puṇyancha kṛitam;* D. [Pahlavi]; $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]; $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]; see *usefriti,* Vend. XVIII. 12. 7, 4. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for final [Pahlavi]. 12, 2. $H_{17}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi].
XIV. 1, 2. D. $H_6$ [Pahlavi]; $H_{18}$ omits 1, 1.—2, 3. 1, 6. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 1, 7. $H_{17}$, P. om.



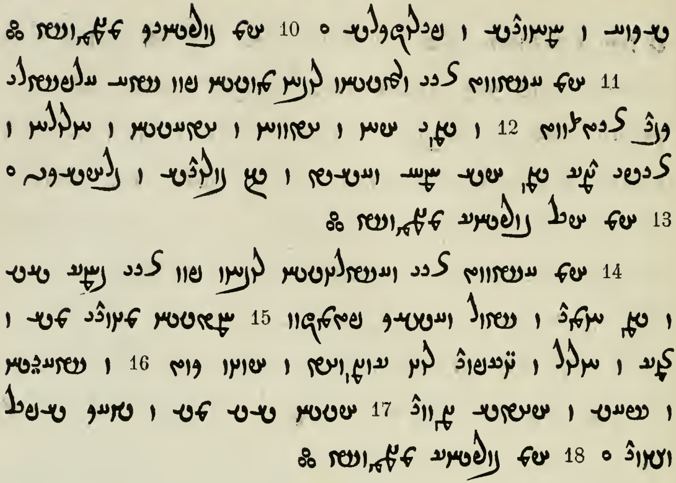
bûland rôshanîk, va pavan zak-i mas bûrzishnîk. 2 *Afam bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

3 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i valmanshân *mûnshân* hamâk dînô yezbekhûnḍ, va *yazishn*-i Yadadân *karḍ va* farmûḍ, 4 *mûnshân* yetîbûnast madam avârîk rûbânôân; 5 afshân *kirfak âsmân bâlâî* yekavîmûnâḍ. 6 Afam avîr *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

7 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* zak-i aratêshtârân rûbân *mûnshânŏ* rûbishn pavan zak-i azvartûm râmishn va hû-ravâkh-mînishnîh, va pavan zak-i *dahyûpatânŏ* bar-hamak; 8 *va* zak-*i* gûrḍân *zên-afzâr*-i khûp-karḍ-i zahabâân-*karḍ*-i gôhar-*afzuḍ*-i hû-afrank-i harvîsp-pêsîḍ; 9 yîn zak-i shikûft *rânô-vardîn*, pavan kabed

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XIV. 2, 1. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 2, 2. $H_{17}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 3, 5. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 3, 10. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 3, 12—13. $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]. 4, 1. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 5, 2. $H_{17}$ prefixes [Pahlavi]. 5, 3. $H_{17}$, P. om. 5, 4. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 6, 3. $H_{17}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 7, 2. D. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 7, 6. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final [Pahlavi]. 7, 17. $K_{20}$ omits final [Pahlavi]. 8, 1. $H_{17}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 8, 2. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 8, 4. compare *zaêna hachimnô*, Mihir Yasht 141. 8, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final [Pahlavi]. 8, 10. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 9, 4—5. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ add final [Pahlavi] to 5; $H_{18}$ gives no Sans. See ch. XII. 16.



shukûh va amâvandîh va pîrûzkarîh. 10 Afam *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

11 Afam khadîtûnḏ zak-i valmanshânŏ rûbân mûnshân, pavan stih, khrafstar-i kabed zektelûnḏ; 12 va gadman-i âvân, *va âtarôân*, va âtâshân, va aûvarân, va zakîch-i damîk *gadman*, azash *hamâî* vakhshîḏ, va yîn bûlandîh va barâzishakîh. 13 Afam avîr bûrzishnîk medammûnast.

14 Afam khadîtûnḏ zak-i vâstryôshân rûbânô pavan zak-i bâmîk gâs, va gadman-hômand va stavar vakhshâk paḏmûjanŏ; 15 *amatshân* mînavad-i mayâ va zamîk va aûrvar va gôspend *levîn* yekavîmûnâḏ, va âfrînô karḏ, 16 va stâyishn va sipâs va âvâḏîh yemalelund; 17 afshân gâs mas, va jînâk *shapîr vakhdûnd.* 18 Afam *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

XIV. 10, 2. $H_{17}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 12, 4—5. $H_{17}$, $H_{18}$ om. 12, 13. $H_{17}$ om. 12, 15. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 15, 1. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 15, 10. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 17, 6. D. [illegible]. 17, 7. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 18, 2. $H_{17}$ has [illegible] for [illegible].

[Pahlavi] 19
[Pahlavi] 20 [Pahlavi]
[Pahlavi] 21 [Pahlavi]
[Pahlavi]

## Chapter XV.

[Pahlavi] 1
[Pahlavi] 2 [Pahlavi]
[Pahlavi] 3 [Pahlavi]
[Pahlavi] 5 [Pahlavi] 4
[Pahlavi] 6 [Pahlavi]

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19 Afam khadîtûnḍ zak-i hû-tûkhshâkân rûbân mûnshân, pavan stih, *khûḍâyân* va sardârân parastîḍ; 20 amatshân yetîbûnast hômand, pavan zak-i khûp-vastarḍ gâs va rabâ va bâmîk va *barâzishak*. 21 Afam avîr *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

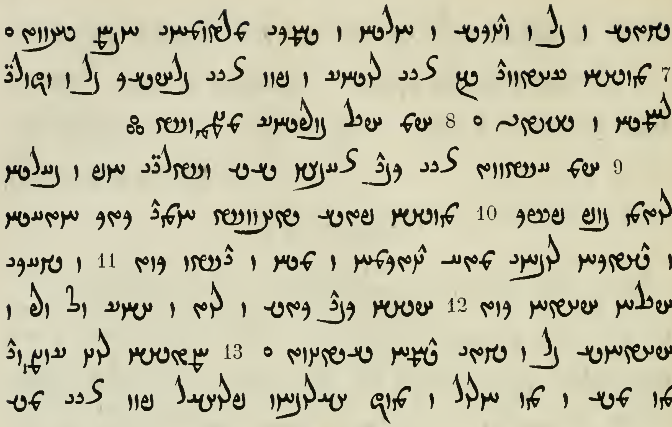
### Chapter XV.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* zak-i shapânân rûbân mûnshân, pavan stih, chahâr-pâî va *kîrâ* varzîḍ va parvarḍ, 2 va nikâs dâsht min gûrg va *dûzḍ* va stahambak marḍûm. 3 Va pavan hangâm-i *maḍ*, mayâ *va giyâh* va khûrishn dâḍ; 4 va min sarmâk va garmâk-i sakht pâhrîkht; 5 va *gûshan* pavan gâs-i nafshman madam shedkûnḍ, va dâḍyîsh pâhrîkhtô; 6 afash kabed mas

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XIV. 19, 9. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 20, 14. all but $H_{17}$ add [Pahlavi]. 21, 3. $H_{17}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi].

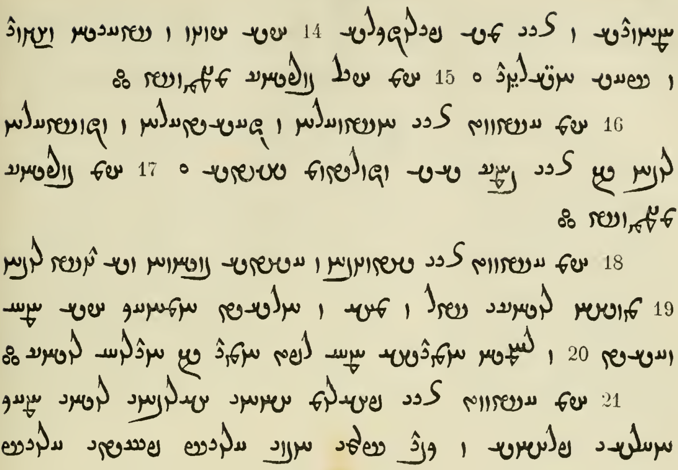
XV. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 1, 11. [Pahlavi] in all but $K_{20}$. 2, 7. D. [Pahlavi]; $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]. 3, 4. $H_{17}$ om. 3, 6—7. $K_{20}$ om. 5, 2. can also be read *yûdân*; $H_{18}$ gives no Sans.



sûḍîh va bar *va* nadûkîh va khûrishn va jâmak-i marḍûmân-*i* anbâm *yehabûnḍ.* 7 Mûnshân *sâtûnd* yîn zak-i rôshanîk, va pavan zak-i barâzishak *bar*, va vazûrg *râmishn va shâḍîh.* 8 Afam avîr *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

9 Afam khadîtûnḍ zak-i *kabed* zahabâîn gâs, vastarg-i khûp, va bâlishn levatman *bûp pasijak,* 10 mûnshân paḍash yetîbûnast hômand kaḍak-khûḍâyân va dâḍakân rûbân-*i* matâ dûḍak-mân, *va* miyân va *dastô* karḍ, 11 va jînâk-i *avîrân* âvâḍân *karḍ;* 12 afshân kabed *katas,* va rûḍ, va khânîk, val varz va âvâḍânîh bar, va sûḍ-i dâmân yâîtyûnḍ. 13 *Amatshân* levîn *yekavîmûnd* mûn mayâ, va mûn aûrvar, va *mûnich yasharûbânŏ* fravyashar, pavan zak-i mas

XV. 6, 7. $H_6$ om. 6, 13. $H_{17}$ has for . 6, 15. $K_{20}$ . 7, 2. $H_{17}$ . 7, 10. D. om.; $H_{17}$ ; $H_{18}$ Sans. *phalam.* 7, 13—15. $H_{17}$ ; P. omits 14—15. 8, 2. $H_{17}$ has for . 9, 4. all but $H_{17}$ add . 9, 12—13. $H_{17}$, P. . 10, 9. all omit . 10, 12. $H_{17}$ . 10, 15. $K_{20}$ omits final ; $H_{17}$ . 11, 3. D. $H_6$ . 11, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final . 12, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 13, 1. $H_{17}$ . 13, 3. $H_{17}$ . 13, 10. $K_{26}$ omits . 13, 11. $K_{20}$ omits final .



amâvandîh, va zak-i mas pîrûzkarîh; 14 afash âfrînô va stâyishn vâdûnd, va sipâs angârênd. 15 Afam avîr bûrzishnîk medammûnast.

16 Afam khadîtûnḍ *zak-i* hûstovârân va châshîḍârân va vajûstârân rûbân, yîn zak-*i* bâmîk gâs vazûrgtûm shâḍîh. 17 Afam *bûrzishnîk* medammûnast.

18 Afam khadîtûnḍ zak-i dâtôgûbân va âshtîh-bavîhûnân *vêh-dôst rûbân*, 19 mûnshân rôshanîk-i star va mâh va khûrshêḍ hûmânâk, azash *hamâî vakhshîḍ*; 20 va râmishn-*hômandyîsh* hamâî raft hômand, yîn andarvâî rôshanîk.

21 Afam khadîtûnḍ zak-i pâhlûm ahvân-i yasharûbân,-i *rôshan-i* hamâk-khvârîh-*i* farâkhûîh va kabed *siparam-i* hû-bô-i *harvîsp*-pêsîḍ-i harvîsp

XV. 16, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 16, 11. $K_{20}$ omits . 17, 2. $H_{17}$ has for . 18, 8—10. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 19, 10. D. $K_{20}$ . 19, 11. D. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ . 20, 3. $K_{20}$ . 21, 7. $H_{17}$ has for . 21, 9. only in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. 21, 13. D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$ ; $H_{18}$ *spaharam*, Sans. *kusuma;* see Mkh. VII. 15. 21, 15. $H_6$ .

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## Chapter XVI.

1

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3

4

shikûftak va *bâmîk* va pûr-gadman va vîsp-shâḍîh va vîsp-*râmishn*, 22 mûn khadîh azash sîrîh lâ khavîtûnêḍ.

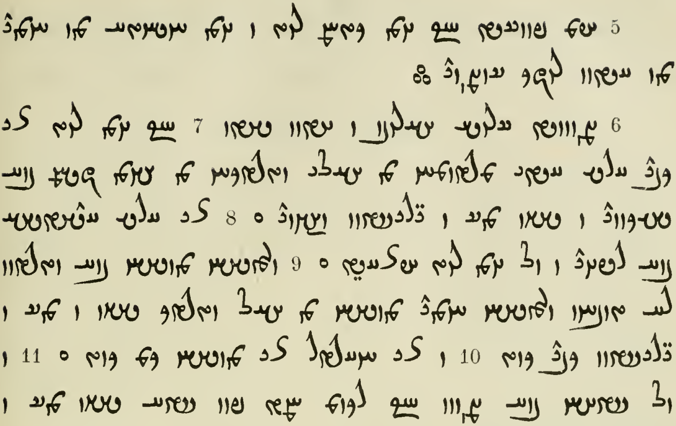
## Chapter XVI.

1 Akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, *zak-i li yadman* frâz vakhdûnḍ, *va min tamman* frâztar vazlûnḍ hômanam. 2 Jînâk-*I* frâz maḍ hômanam, afam khadîtûnḍ rûḍ-I-i vazûrg-i sazdgûn *dûshahû târ*, 3 mûn kabed *rûbânô va fravyasharân yîn* zak rûḍ yehevûnḍ hômand; 4 va *aît zyashân* vaḍarḍanŏ lâ tûbân, va *aît-i* pavan girân ranj hamâî vaḍarḍ, va *aît-i* khvâryîsh vaḍarḍ hômand.

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XV. 21, 20. $K_{26}$ . 21, 29. D. $H_{17}$ add .

XVI. 1, 6—8. D. . 1, 11—13. $H_6$, $H_{18}$ . 2, 1. D. $H_{17}$ have for ; $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit it. 2, 10—11. $H_{18}$ *dôzhakh târ*, Sans. *narakândhakârasya*; all others have . 3, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final . 3, 4. $K_{20}$ om.; all others . 3, 5. $K_{20}$ omits . 3, 6. only in $H_{17}$. 4, 2, 8, 15. $H_{17}$ . 4, 3. in all but $H_{17}$.

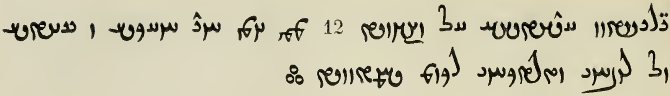


5 *Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman kaḍâm rûḍ? va denman anshûtâ mûn hômand,* mûn aêtûn ranjak *yekavîmûnd?*

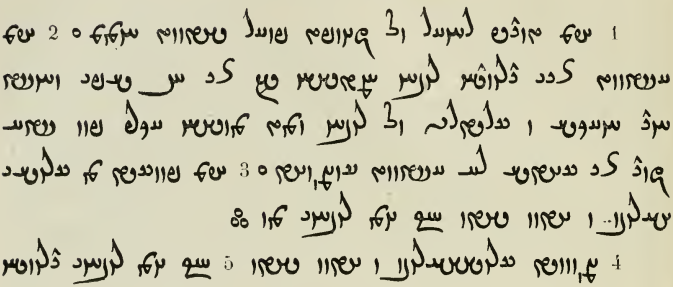
6 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Atarô *yêdatô*, 7 aîgh: Denman rûḍ zak kabed ars aît-*i* marḍûmân min akhar-i *vaḍarḍakân* min aînman chashm barâ *shedkûnd*, va shîvan mûyak va girîstanŏ vâdûnd. 8 Zak ars adâḍyîsh barâ *rêjênd*, va val denman rûḍ *afzâyaḍ*. 9 Valmanshân mûnshân *barâ vaḍarḍanŏ lâ tûbânŏ, valmanshân hômand mûnshân* min akhar *vaḍarḍak* shîvan va mûyak va girîstanŏ kabed *karḍ;* 10 *va zak khvârtar, zak mûnshân kem karḍ.* 11 *Va* val stihân barâ yemalelûn aîgh: Lekûm, *amat* pavan stih, shîvan *mûyak* va

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XVI. 5, 1—11. $K_{20}$ om. 5, 15. $K_{20}$ has for. 6, 6. $K_{20}$ omits final, here and elsewhere, 53 times out of 112 occurrences of this word. 7, 7. $K_{20}$ has for. 7, 11. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ add final. 7, 16. D. has for. 8, 5. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. 8, 10. $K_{20}$. 9, 3—9. $H_{17}$, P. om. 9, 6. $K_{20}$ omits final. 9, 12. $K_{20}$. 9, 19. $H_{17}$, P. add. 10, 1—7. $H_{17}$, P. have. 10, 2. $K_{26}$ adds. 11, 1. $K_{26}$ adds. 11, 8. D. 11, 12. $K_{20}$ prefixes.



## Chapter XVII.



girîstanŏ adâḍyîsh al vâdûnêḍ; 12 maman denman and anâkîh *va* sakhtîh val rûbân-i vaḍarḍakân-i lekûm yâmtûnêḍ.

## Chapter XVII.

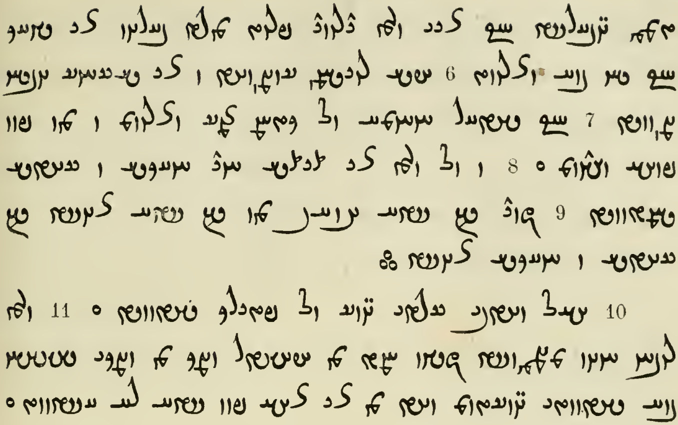
1 Afam tanidîch *lakhvâr* val Chinûvat pûhal yâtûnḍ *hômanam.* 2 Afam khadîtûnḍ zak-*i* darvandân rûbân, *amatshân* yîn zak III shap-i nakhûst, and anâkîh va sarîtarîh *val* rûbân numûḍ, *mûnshân* akaraz pavan stih, chand zak sakhtîh, lâ khadîtûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ. 3 *Afam* pûrsîḍ min Srôsh-i yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh: Denman rûbân-i mûn?

4 *Yemalelûnêḍ* Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *darvandân*

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XVI. 12, 5. only in $H_{17}$.

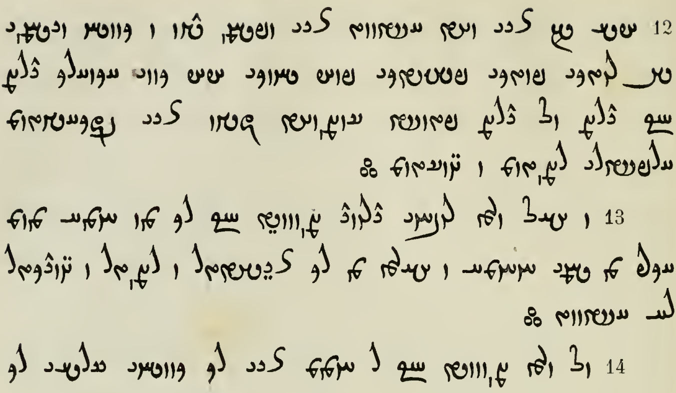
XVII. 1, 3, 8. $H_{17}$ om. 2, 3. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 2, 6. D. [Pahlavi]. 2, 16. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 2, 19. $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]. 3, 1. $H_{17}$ omits from this to 5, 1. 4, 1. the crude form of this verb varies in the old MSS.; [Pahlavi] occurs 15 times in $H_6$, and 34 times in $K_{20}$; [Pahlavi] 84 times in $H_6$, and 4 times in $K_{20}$; and [Pahlavi] 60 times in $K_{20}$. 5, 4. $H_{17}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi].



tammân dûbârast aîgh zak-i valman darvand frôḍ mûrḍ, *bâlînŏ* zak jînâk aîgh jân barâ vazlûnḍ; 6 *afash* rôêshman yekavîmûnâḍ, va zak gâsâuîk gûbishn yemaleluneḍ 7 aîgh: Dâḍâr Aûharmazd! *val* kaḍâm zamîk vazlûnam? va mûn *pavan* panâh *vakhdûnam*? 8 Va val valman, zak lêlyâ, and anâkîh va sakhtîh *yâmtûnêḍ*, 9 *chand yîn stih*, *gabrâ-I mûn yîn stih zîvast*, *yîn* sakhtîh va anâkîh zîvast.

10 Akhar, vâḍ-*I*-i sarḍ-i gôndak val paḍîrak yâtûnêḍ. 11 *Valman rûbân ângûn* medammûnast chîgûn *amat* min apâkhtar nêmak, *min* nêmak-i shêdâân, barâ yâtûnḍ-i gôndaktûm vâḍ min zak zyash pavan *stih* lâ khadîtûnḍ.

XVII. 5, 13. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$ have for . 6, 1. $K_{20}$ omits from this to 7, 8. 7, 4—12. see Yasna XLVI. 1. 7, 10. D. om. 7, 12. $K_{20}$ . 8,10. $H_{17}$ has for . 9, 1—9. $H_{17}$ has . 9, 8. $K_{26}$ adds . 10, 2. D. $H_{17}$ omit . 11, 1. $H_{17}$ prefixes . 11, 2. $H_{17}$ adds . 11, 3. so 39 times in $H_6$, but twice , and 8 times . 11, 6. D. . 11, 10. D. $K_{20}$ prefix . 11, 21. $K_{20}$ .



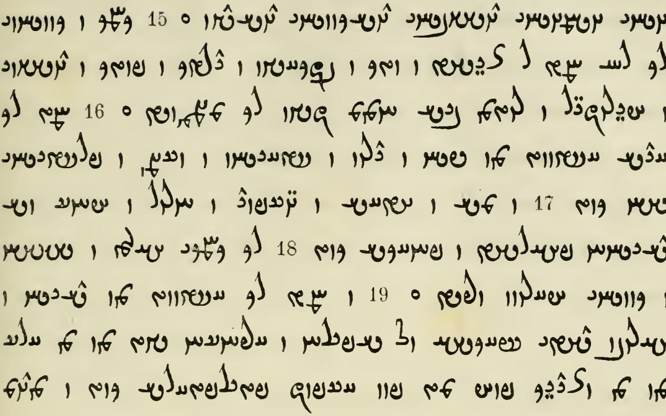
12 Afash yîn zak-*i* vâḍ *khadîtûnḍ*, zak-i nafshman dînô *va* kûnishn *nêshman-i jih*, lûtak-i pûḍak-i vashâḍak-i *frâz-jânûk*-i avâz-kûn-i akanârak-*darîm*, aîgh *darîm* val *darîm* paḍvast yekavîmûnâḍ, chîgûn zak-i *bazak-âyîntûm* khrafstar-*i* rîmantûm va gôndaktûm.

13 *Va* akhar, valman rûbân-i darvand yemalelûnêḍ aîgh: Lak *mûn hômanih?* mûnam akaraz, *min* dâm-i Aûharmazd va Akharman, *min lak* zîshttar va rîmantar va gôndaktar lâ khadîtûnḍ.

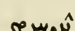
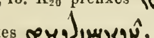
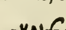
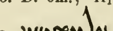
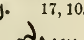
14 Val valman yemalelûnêḍ aîgh: Li hômanam zak-i lak kûnishn-i saryâ-i lak,

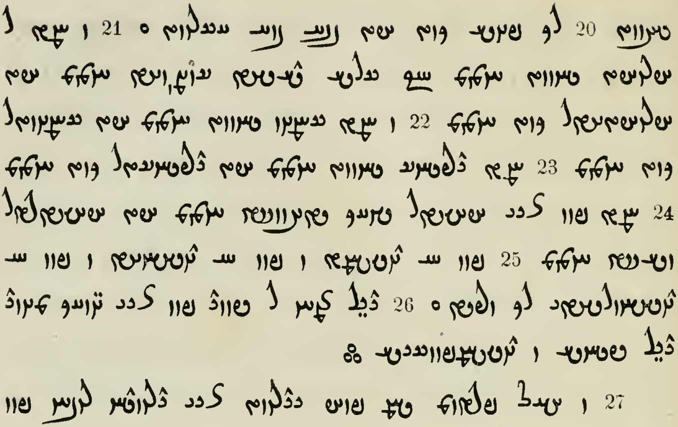
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XVII. 12, 3. D. $K_{20}$ omit . 12, 5. in all but $K_{26}$. 12, 9. only in $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$. 12, 11—12. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 12, 16—17. compare Sans. *prajnu.* 12, 21. D. $H_6$, $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . See Vend. VII. 2. VIII. 71. 12, 23. D. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ . 12, 25. $H_{18}$ . 12, 30. D. ; $H_{18}$ *baja kashôtum,* Sans. *pâpishṭhâ kiyanmâtrâḥ.* 12, 31. only in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. 13, 1. D. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ om. 13, 9. $K_{20}$ . 13, 10. D. . 13, 13. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ om. 13, 18. $H_{18}$ om. 13, 19. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ om.



yûdân-*i dûsh-mînishn-i dûsh-gûbishn-i dûsh-kûnishn-i* dûsh-dînô. 15 Kâmak va kûnishnŏ-i lak râî, *amat* li zîsht va vaḍak va bazak-âyînŏ va darḍak va pûḍak va dûsh-gônd *va* apîrûzkar va levatman bêsh *hômanam*, chîgûn lak medammûnêḍ. 16 Amat lak khadîh khadîtûnḍ *mûn* yazishn *va drôn*, va stâyishnŏ, *va nasadman*, va *parastîshn-i* Yadadân karḍ; 17 va mayâ, va âtâsh, va gôspend, va aûrvar, va *avârîk* vêh dahîshnân pâhrîkht *va* pânâkîh karḍ; 18 lak *kâmak-i Akharman* va shêdâân, va kûnishn-i avârûnŏ varzîḍ. 19 *Va amat* lak khadîtûnḍ mûn dahîshn *va* yasharûbŏ-dâḍ-i sazâkyîsh val shapîrân va arzânîkân *sûd*, mûn min arîk, mûn min nazdîk frâz maḍ, *pavan* aspanj paḍîraftârîh karḍ, va mandavam

XVII. 14, 12.  only in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. 14, 13. $K_{20}$ prefixes . 14, 14. $K_{20}$ prefixes . 14, 15. $K_{20}$ prefixes , and adds final . 15, 6. D. . 15, 19. only in $H_{17}$. 15, 24. $K_{20}$ om. 16, 5. D. om.; $H_{17}$ . 16, 7—8. D. om. 16, 11—12. $H_{18}$ om. 16, 14. D. $H_{17}$ . 17, 10. $H_{18}$ om. 17, 14. only in $H_{17}$. 18, 2. $K_{20}$ only . 18, 3. $K_{20}$  19, 1 D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$ om. 19, 2. D. . 19, 7. D. $H_6$ om. 19, 15. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 19, 24. only in $K_{20}$.

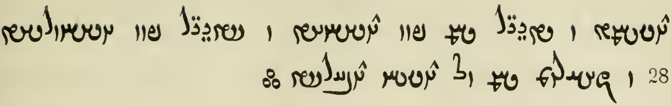


yehabûnd; 20 lak payûsh kard, afat babâ barâ *asrûnd*. 21 *Va amat li afravâft* yehevûnd hômanam (aîgh, saryâ dâsht yekavîmûnâd hômanam), afat *afravâftîktar* kard hômanam; 22 va amat *sahmgûn* yehevûnd hômanam, afat *sahmgûntar* kard hômanam; 23 amat *drafshnîk* yehevûnd hômanam, afat drafshnîktar kard hômanam; 24 amat *pavan zak-i* apâkhtar jînâk yetîbûnast hômanam, afat apâkhtartar nishast hômanam; 25 pavan *aê dûsh-humat*, va pavan aê dûsh-hûkht, va pavan aê dûsh-*hûvarsht*-i lak varzîd. 26 *Dêr zamân li* gazavand pavan zak-i Ganrâk-mînavad dêr-gazishnîh *va* dûsh-ham-pûrsakîh.

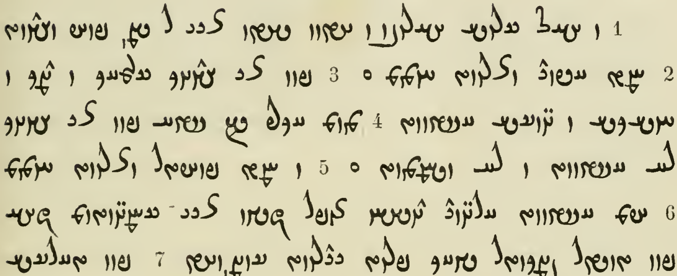
27 *Va* akhar, fratûm gâm frâz yedrûnd, zak-i *darvandân* rûbân, pavan

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XVII. 20, 7. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 21, 1—3. $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]. 21, 4. $H_{18}$ *aparavâjata*, Sans. *aprasârita*. 21, 13. $H_{17}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 22, 3, 7. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $K_{26}$ have [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 23, 2. $H_{18}$ *darjashnî*, Sans. *drohapara;* Dest. suggests *garzishnîk*, but $H_6$ and $K_{20}$ have the circumflex. 24, 2—3. $K_{20}$ om. 25, 2. Z. *aêta;* or *hî*, Syr. [Syriac], Chald. הִן, Z. *hî*, *hê*. 25, 3. D. $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]. 25, 11. $K_{20}$ adds final [Pahlavi]. 26, 1—3. $H_{17}$, P. [Pahlavi]; compare IV. 34—35. 26, 11. D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$ om. 27, 1. $H_{17}$ [Pahlavi]. 27, 8. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi].



## Chapter XVIII.



*dûsh-humat*, va dadîgar *gâm* pavan dûsh-hûkht, va *sadîgar* pavan dûsh-hûvarsht, 28 *va* chahârûm gâm val dûshahû dûbârast.

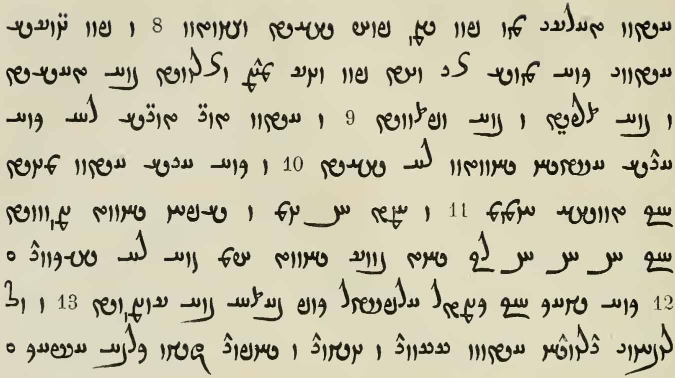
## Chapter XVIII.

1 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, zak-i li yadman frâz *vakhdûnd*, 2 amat agazand vazlûnd hômanam. 3 Pavan zak khadûînak sarmâk va *damak* va *khûshkîh* va gôndakîh khadîtûnd, 4 *mûnam* akaraz *yîn* stih, pavan zak khadûînak, lâ khadîtûnd, va lâ vashammûnd. 5 *Va amat* frâztar vazlûnd hômanam, 6 afam *khadîtûnd argônd dûshahû zôfar*, chîgûn zak-i sahmgûntûm châh pavan tangtar bîmguntar jînâk frôd yedrûnd yekavîmûnâd; 7 pavan târîkîh

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XVII. 27, 11. D. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ ; $H_{17}$ also prefixes . 27, 14. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ om. 27, 18. $H_{17}$ adds . 28, 1. only in $H_{17}$.

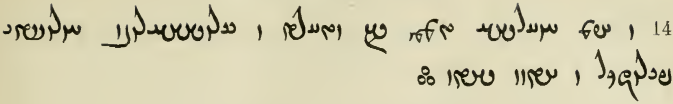
XVIII. 1, 12. $H_6$ has for . 3, 6. $H_{17}$ . 3, 8. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ . 4, 1. B. . 4, 3. $K_{20}$ . 5, 1. only in $H_6$, $K_{26}$. 5, 2. in all but $H_{17}$. 6, 2. in all but D. 6, 3. D. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ add . 6, 3—5. $H_{18}$ Sans. *malinañ narakañ himopalam.*



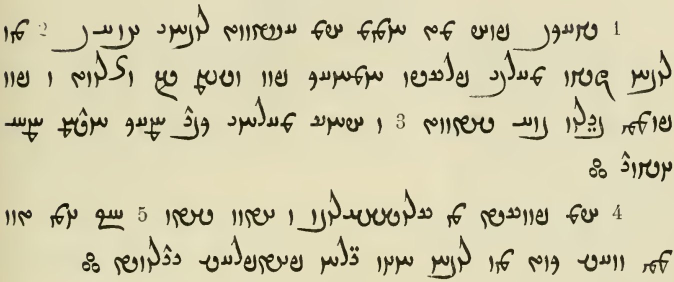
aêtûn târîk-*i* mûn pavan yadman frâz shâyaḍ *vakhdûntanŏ*; 8 *va* pavan gôndakîh aêtûn-i kolâ *mûnash* zak vâḍ pavan *vînîk* madam *vazlûnêḍ*, barâ *tukhshêḍ*, *va barâ* larzêḍ, va barâ neflûnêḍ; 9 va aêtûn tang *tangîh* râî, kolâ khadîh *hastishn yehevûntanŏ* lâ shâyaḍ; 10 va kolâ khadîh aêtûn mînêḍ, *aîgh*: *Tanûîhâ* hômanam; 11 *va* amat III yôm va *shapân* yehevûnḍ, yemalelûnêḍ aîgh 9000 shanat bûndak yehevûnḍ, afam barâ lâ shedkûnd. 12 Kolâ jînâk aîgh kêmtar khrafstar *kôf* bâlâî barâ yekavîmûnêḍ, 13 va val *rubânô*-i darvandân aêtûnŏ sedkûnd va yansegûnd va *shûpand*, chîgûn kalbâ *asazâk*.

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XVIII. 7, 4. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 7, 10. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ [illegible]; $H_{17}$, $H_{18}$ [illegible]. 8, 1. only in $H_6$, $K_{26}$. 8, 6. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 8, 10. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 8, 12. [illegible] in all but $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$. 8, 14—16. D. om. 9, 4. D. om. 9, 8. P. has [illegible] for [illegible]. 9, 9. [illegible] in all but D. $H_{17}$. 10, 6. $K_{20}$ om. 10, 7. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 11, 1. only in $K_{20}$. 11, 6. D. adds [illegible]. 12, 6. $H_{18}$ *karaf*, Sans. *sharîre*. 13, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 13, 10. compare Pers. شو کردن. 13, 13. so in D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$; $K_{26}$ [illegible]; $H_{18}$ *asajâ*, Sans. *anurûpitayâ;* it may be a miswriting for [illegible], see Mkh. VII. 29.



## Chapter XIX.



14 Va *afam khvâryîsh* tamman yîn vaḍârḍ, va Srôsh-yasharûbŏ *hûrûst-i pîrûzkar*, va Âtarô yêdatô.

### Chapter XIX.

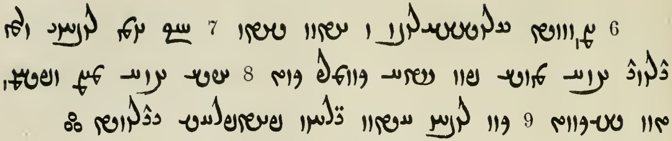
1 Jînâk-I frâz maḍ hômanam; afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I, 2 mûn *rûbân chîgûn* mâr-I-i frasîpŏ hûmânâk, pavan nishîm yîn *vazlûnḍ;* va pavan pûmman bîrûn barâ yâtûnḍ; 3 va *avârîk* mârân-i kabed hamâk *andâm hamâî* yansegûnd.

4 Afam pûrsîḍ *min Srôsh-yasharûbŏ*, *va Âtarô yêdatô*, 5 *aîgh:* Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbân ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

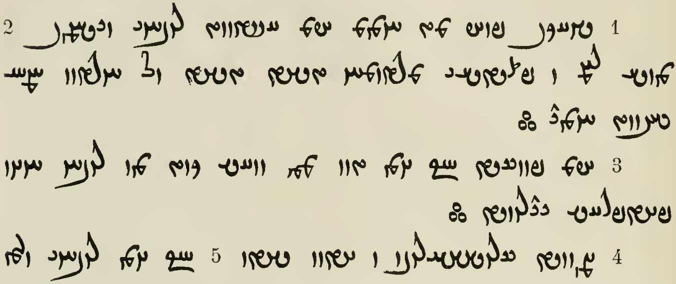
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XVIII. 14, 2. should be *azam*, unless [illegible] be the final of 13, 13. 14, 3. so in $H_{17}$; D. has [illegible] for [illegible]; $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ have [illegible]; $H_6$ writes [illegible] over [illegible]. 14, 9—10. $K_{20}$ om.; D. puts them after 14, 13.; [illegible] is wanted before 14, 9.

XIX. 2, 2. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]; $H_{17}$ om. 2, 3. $H_{17}$ om. 2, 10. D. has [illegible] for [illegible]. 3, 2. [illegible] in all but $H_{17}$. 3, 6. $H_{17}$ adds [illegible]. 3, 7. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 4, 3—7. $H_{18}$ om. 5, 1. $H_{17}$ [illegible]; all others [illegible].



## Chapter XX.



6 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan *stih,* kûn-marz kardฺ, 8 afash gabrâ madam nafshman tanû *shedkûnḍ;* 9 kevan rûbân aêtûn *girânŏ* pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ.

### Chapter XX.

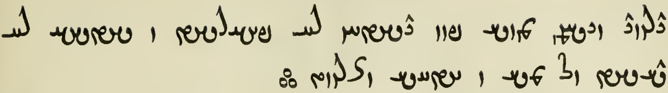
1 Jînâk-I *frâz* maḍ hômanam; afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i nêshman-I, 2 mûnash *rîm* va palîḍîh-*i* marḍûmân tasht tasht val khûrḍanŏ *hamâî* yehabûnḍ hômand.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbân *ângûn* pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

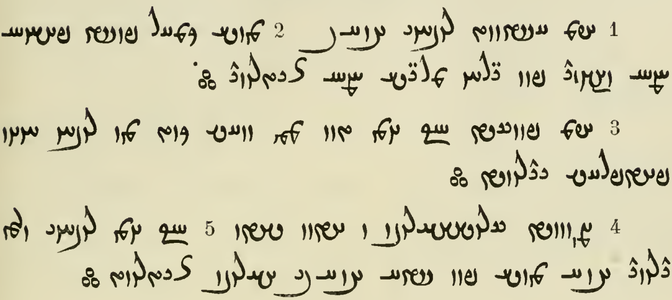
4 Yemalelunêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman *rûbân-i* valman

XIX. 7, 3. only in D. $H_6$. 7, 9. $H_{17}$ . 8, 6. $K_{20}$ has for . 9, 4. $H_{18}$ om.; $K_{20}$ .

XX. 1, 2. D. om. 2, 2. D. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 2, 4. only in D. $H_{17}$. 2, 10. $K_{20}$ . 3, 11. $H_{18}$ adds *garâ* = . 5, 3. $K_{20}$ om.



## Chapter XXI.



darvand nêshman mûnash, *pavan* dashtân, lâ pâhrîkht, va dâḍyîsh lâ dâsht, val mayâ va âtâsh vazlûnḍ.

### Chapter XXI.

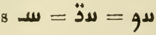
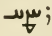
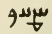
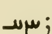
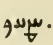
1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûnash kamâr pôst *pâhnâî hamâî* vâdûnd, pavan girân margîh *hamâî* zektelûnd.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbân ângûn pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

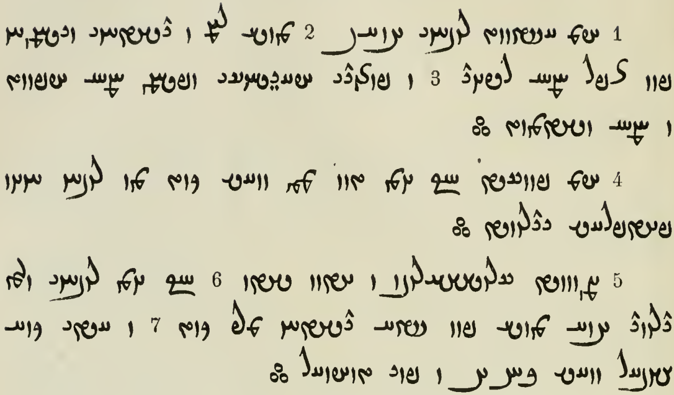
4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Atarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan *stih*, gabrâ-I-i yasharûbŏ zektelûnḍ.

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XX. 5, 8. $H_{17}$ om.

XXI. 2, 4. perhaps  2, 5. D. ; $K_{20}$  2, 10. D. ; $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$  5, 3. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ have  for ; $K_{26}$ omits it. 5, 9. $H_{17}$ 

# Chapter XXII.



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## Chapter XXII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-*i* gabrâ-I 2 mûnash *rîm* va dashtân-i *nêshmanân* pavan zafar *hamâî* rêjênd, 3 va farzand-*i* avâyishnîk-i nafshman *hamâî* affûnḍ, *va hamâî* vashtamûnḍ.

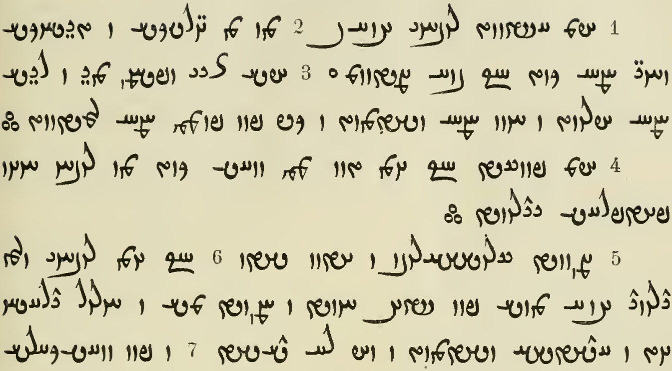
4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbân ângûn pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand *gabrâ* mûnash, pavan *stih*, dashtân-marz karḍ; 7 va aît-i kolâ *khadû*-bâr vanâs XV va pelag tanâpûhar.

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XXII. 1, 3. $H_6$ has for ; $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit it. 2, 2. D. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ . 2, 5. D. omits . 2, 8. $K_{20}$ . 3, 2. all but D. $H_{17}$ have for . 3, 5, 8. $K_{20}$ here, and also in many subsequent places which are unnoticed. 3, 7. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ om. 6, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 6, 6. $K_{20}$ . 6, 9. $H_{17}$ . 7, 4. $H_{18}$ omits .

# Chapter XXIII.



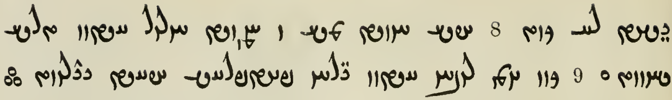
## Chapter XXIII.

1 Afam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn, *min* gûrsakîh va tîshnakîh, vâng hamâî *kard* aîgh: Barâ yemîtûnam. 3 Afash *zak-i* nafshman mûî va rêsh hamâî khefrûnd, va khûnŏ hamâî *vashtamûnd*, va kêf pavan pûmman hamâî ramîtûnd.

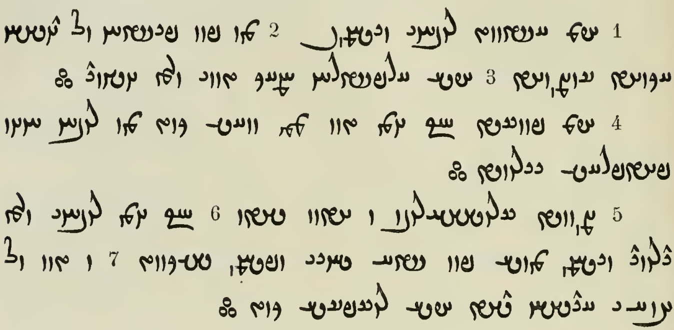
4 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, *mûn* rûbân ângûn pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

5 Yemalelunêd Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand gabrâ *mûnash*, *pavan stih*, *Horvadad va Amerôdad mayâ va aûrvar* drâyân *jald*, va adâdyîsh vashtamûnd, va vâj lâ dâsht; 7 va pavan vanâskârîh

XXIII. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 2, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 8. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 3, 2. $H_{17}$ om.; $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 3, 12. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 4, 9. D. [illegible]. 6, 3. D. $K_{20}$ omit [illegible]. 6, 7—8. D. [illegible]. 6, 9. $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 6, 10—15. $H_{17}$ [illegible]; $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ add [illegible] to 6, 12. 6, 17. compare Pers. چليدن, جليدن 'to gnaw'; $H_{18}$ has *jud* 7 times, *jud* twice, *juda* twice, and *zad*, *zad*, *khurd*, each once; and in Sans., *khâdanti* 5 times, *vidârayanti* twice, *vibhindanti* twice, and *vyâpâdayanti*, *nighnanti*, *khâdati*, *vibhinna*, *vinâ* each once.



## Chapter XXIV.



yesht lâ kaṛd; 8 afash Horvadaḍ mayâ, va Amerôdaḍ aûrvar, aêtûn tarîh yehevûnḍ. 9 Kevan *denman rûbân aêtûn* girân pâḍafrâs *avâyaḍ yedrûnḍ.*

## Chapter XXIV.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn, pavan *pêstân*, val dûshahû *akankht yekavîmûnâḍ*; 3 afash khrafstarân hamâk tanû-i valman yansegûnd.

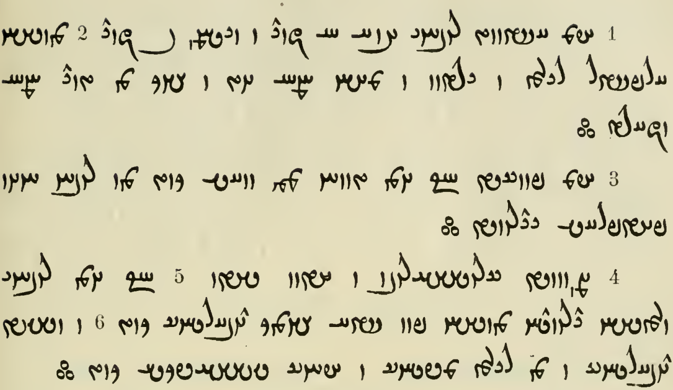
4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kaṛd, mûn rûbân ângûn pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

5 Yemalelunêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand *nêshman* mûnash, pavan *stih*, shûî-i nafshman shedkûnḍ, 7 va tanû val gabrâ-i khadîhân dâḍ, afash rûspîkîh kârḍ.

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XXIII. 9, 2—4. $K_{20}$ . 9, 7. $K_{20}$ om. 9, 8. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ have for . XXIV. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 2, 3. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 2, 6. or *akûkht;* compare Pers. کج, آکوج, آکنج 'a hook'. 2, 7. D. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ have for . 6, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 6, 6. $K_{20}$ . 6, 9. $H_{17}$ .

## Chapter XXV.



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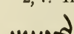
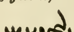
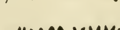
## Chapter XXV.

1 Afam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i gabrâ *aê* chand, va nêshman *I* chand, 2 mûnshân khrafstar ragelman va gardanŏ va *mîyân* hamâî *jald*, va khadûk min *tanid* hamâî vajârd.

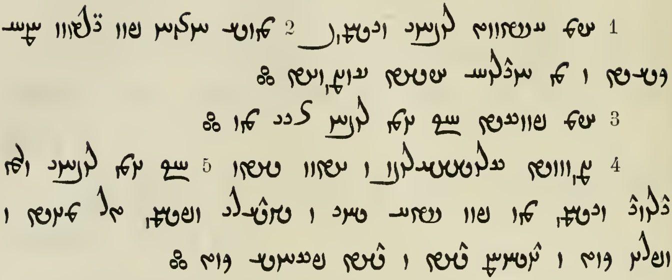
3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: *Denman* tanûân maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbân ângûn pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valmanshân darvandân mûnshân, pavan *stih*, khadû-mûk-dûbârishnîk kard, 6 *va* vashâd-dûbârishnîk va min ragelman mêzishnîk, *va avârîk shêdayyâ-yazakîh* kard.

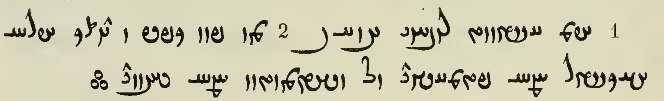
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XXV. 1, 2.  in all but $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$. 1, 5. $K_{20}$ . 1, 9. $K_{20}$ . 2, 7. $H_{17}$ . 2, 9. $H_{18}$ *juda,* Sans. *khâdanti.* 2, 13. $H_{17}$ . 3, 4. $H_{17}$ ; D. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ add . 5, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 5, 8. $H_{17}$ . 6, 1. only in $H_{17}$, $K_{26}$. 6, 8—9. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 10. so in $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$; $H_{17}$ omits ; D. ; but often written  *shêdâ-yazakîh.*

## Chapter XXVI.



## Chapter XXVII.



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### Chapter XXVI.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûnash hûzvân pavan gardanŏ hamâî kashîḍ, va min andarvâî âvîkht yekavîmûnâḍ.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman rûbân zak-i mûn?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i valman* darvand nêshman *mûn*, pavan *stîh*, shûî va sardâr-i nafshman *tar mînîḍ*, *va nafrîn karḍ*, *va dûshnâm dâḍ*, *va dâḍ*-pasukhôîh karḍ.

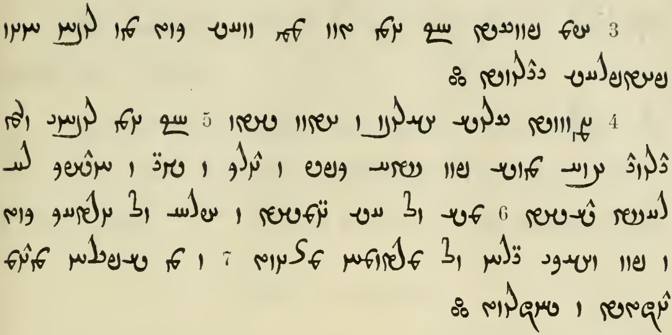
### Chapter XXVII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn pavan kafîz va dûlak, *afrayâ* va khâkistar hamâî paḍmâyînd, val *vashtamûntanŏ* hamâî yehabûnd.

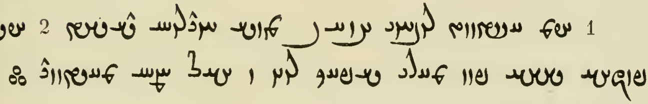
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XXVI. 5, 3. $K_{20}$ omits ɔ. 5, 4. $K_{20}$ adds ɔ. 5, 7. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 5, 9. $H_{17}$ . 5, 14—23. $K_{20}$ om. 5, 15. D. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ . 5, 23. D. om.

XXVII. 2, 6. or *afrâk.* 2, 12. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final .



## Chapter XXVIII.



3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbân ângûn pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand *gabrâ* mûnash, pavan *stih*, kafîz va dûlak va sang *va andâzak* lâ râst dâsht; 6 mayâ val âs gûmîkht, va *afrayâ* val jûrḍâk karḍ, va pavan vahâk-i girân val marḍûmân *mazdûnḍ*; 7 va min shapîrân mandavam dûzḍîḍ va *shôchrûnḍ*.

### Chapter XXVIII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I mûnash andarvâî dâsht, 2 afash panjâh shêdâ, pavan mâr-i *shapâk*, *levîn* va akhar, hamâî makhîtûnd.

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XXVII. 5, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 5, 6. $K_{20}$ . 5, 9. $H_{17}$ . 5, 15—16. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 6. or *afrâk*. 6, 16. D. has for . 7, 7. D. has for .
XXVIII. 2, 6. $H_{18}$ Sans. *sancharanti;* see L. 3 and LII. 2. 2, 7. $K_{20}$ adds final .

3 [illegible] 4 [illegible] 5 [illegible] 6 [illegible]

## Chapter XXIX.

1 [illegible] 2 [illegible]

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3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs *karḍ*, *mûn rûbân ângûn pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?*

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan *stih*, dûsh-*pâḍakhshâhîh* karḍ; 6 va *pavan marḍûmânŏ anâmurz* va zaḍâr, va *zâkham* va pâḍafrâs-*i ângun* khadûînakihâ karḍ.

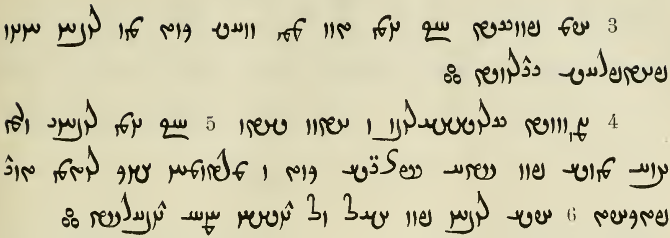
### Chapter XXIX.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 *mûn shanayâ* pavan zafar bîrûn *hîsht*, va khrafstarân hamâî *jalḍ.*

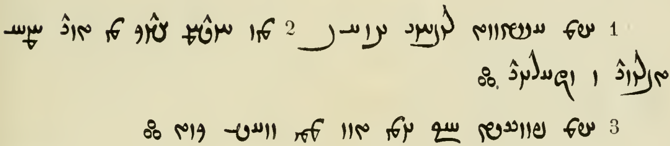
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XXVIII. 3, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 3, 9—13. only in $K_{20}$, which adds [illegible] to [illegible]. 5, 9. $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 5, 10. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 6, 2. $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 6, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 6, 4. D. $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 6, 8. D. [illegible]; $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 6, 10. [illegible] only in $H_6$. 6, 11. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ om.; $K_{20}$ [illegible].

XXIX. 1, 2. D. $H_6$ [illegible]. 2, 1. $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 2, 2. or *shanâk;* [illegible] in all but $K_{20}$. 2, 6. $H_6$ adds final [illegible]. 2, 10. $H_{18}$ *juda,* Sans. *khâdanti.*



## Chapter XXX.



3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, *mûn* rûbân *ângûn* pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valman* gabrâ mûnash, pavan *stih*, *spazgîh* karḍ, va marḍûmân khadûk levatman tanid patkâft; 6 *afash rûbân pavan akhar val dûshahû hamâî dûbârast.*

### Chapter XXX.

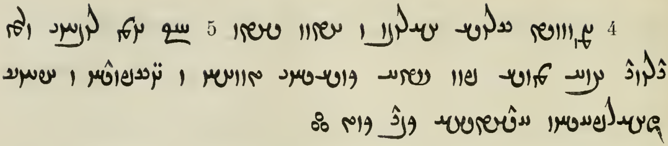
1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 *mûn andâm*, khadûk *min* tanid, hamâî tebrûnd *va vajârînd.*

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs *karḍ?*

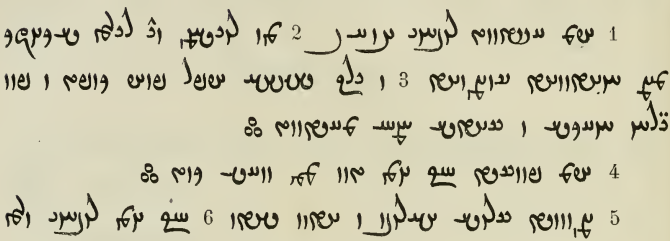
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XXIX. 3, 9. D. . 3, 11. $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $K_{26}$ . 5, 4. $K_{20}$ adds . 5, 8. $H_{17}$ . 5, 9. $H_{17}$ ; $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 6, 1—8. $H_{17}$ om.

XXX. 2, 1. $H_{17}$ . 2, 2. $H_{18}$ *andâ* = ; all others but $H_{17}$ . 2, 4. $H_{18}$ *avâ* = . 2, 8. only in $H_{17}$, $K_{26}$. 2, 9. D. $K_{20}$ . 3, 8. $K_{20}$ adds .



## Chapter XXXI.



4 Yemalelûnêḏ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ *mûnash*, pavan *stîh*, kûshishn-i tôrâân va gôspendân *va* avârîk chahâr-pâyânŏ *adâḏyîsh* kabed karḏ.

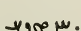
### Chapter XXXI.

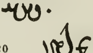
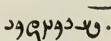
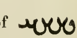
1 Afam khadîtûnḏ rûbân-i *gabrâ-I* 2 mûn *rôêshman* vad *ragelman shikênjak* madam *hankhetûnâḏ* yekavîmûnâḏ; 3 va 1000 *shêdayyâ* azvar frâz kûft, va pavan girân anâkîh va sakhtîh hamâî makhîtûnḏ.

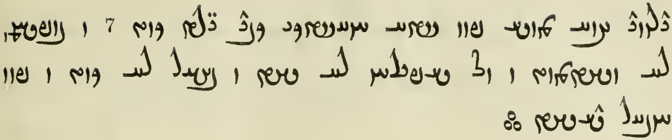
4 Afam pûrsîḏ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḏ?

5 Yemalelûnêḏ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valman*

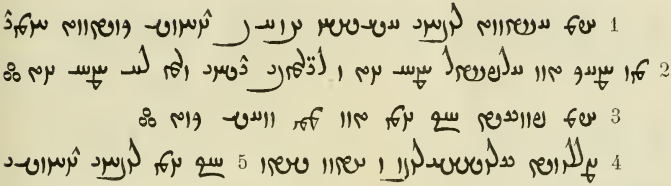
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XXX. 5, 7. D. . 5, 9. $H_{17}$ . 5, 14. only in $H_{17}$. 5, 17. $H_{17}$ has  for .

XXXI. 1, 4. $K_{20}$ . 2, 2.  in all but $H_{17}$. 2, 4. $K_{20}$ . 2, 5. $H_{17}$ . 2, 7. $H_{17}$ has  for final . 3, 3. may be so read, as the Chaldee definite plural; but it is more probably a mere variant of , the extra loop being added to distinguish it from *shâh*. 6, 4. $K_{20}$ .



## Chapter XXXII.



darvand gabrâ *mûnash*, pavan *stih*, *khvâstak*-i kabed girḍ karḍ; 7 va *benafshman* lâ vashtamûnḍ; va val shapîrân lâ dâḍ, va bâhar lâ karḍ; va pavan anbâr dâsht.

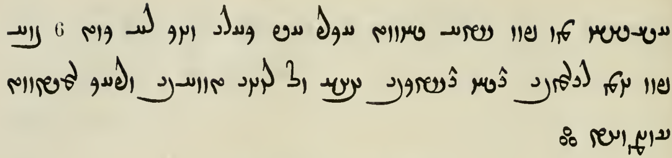
## Chapter XXXII.

1 Afam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i ashgahân gabrâ-I, *Davânôs* karîtûnḍ hômand, 2 mûn *hamâk* tanû *khrafstar* hamâî *jalḍ*, *va* ragelman-I-i *dashin-i valman lâ hamâî jalḍ.*

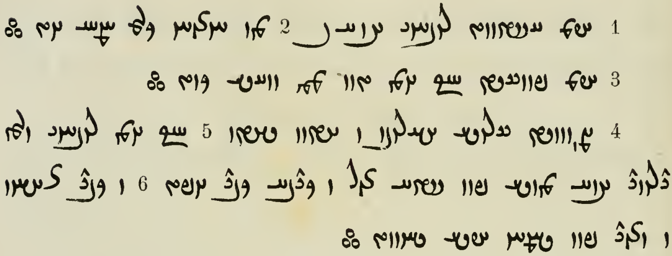
3 *Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?*

4 *Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ*, *va Átarô yêdatô*, 5 *aîgh*: *Denman rûbân-i Davânôs-i*

XXXI. 6, 7. D. . 6, 9. $H_{17}$ . 6, 10. $H_{17}$, $H_{18}$ omit . 7, 2. D. omits .
XXXII. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 1, 6. $H_{18}$ only in Pahlavî; this name is altered to يونس in the Persian prose Ard. Vîr. $H_{28}$; in the Pahlavî Rivâyat it is in $H_6$, $K_{20}$, and (altered to ) in a later MS. $H_9$. As = *â*, *kh*, *h*, and = *n*, *v*, *û*, *ô*, *r*, *l*, it follows theoretically, that this name can be read $6 \times 3 \times 6 \times 6 = 648$ different ways. 2, 2. $K_{20}$ . 2, 4. $H_{17}$ adds . 2, 6. $H_{15}$ *zad*, Sans. *vyâpâdayanti*. 2, 7. $H_{17}$ . 2, 9.—6, 4. only in $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. 2, 13. $H_{18}$ *zaḍ*, Sans. *vidârayanti*.



## Chapter XXXIII.



*ashgahân mûn, pavan stih yehevûnḍ, akaraz hîch kâr-i nadûk lâ karḍ;* 6 *barâ pavan denman ragelman-I-i* dashin, *dastak-I-i* giyâh val *levîn*-i tôrâ-I-i varzâk *ramîtûnḍ* yekavîmûnâḍ.

### Chapter XXXIII.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 *mûn* hûzvân kirm hamâî *jalḍ.*

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?

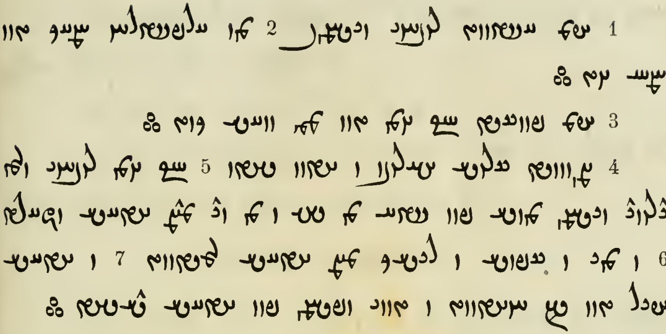
4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan *stih*, zûr va kadbâ kabed *gûft;* 6 *va* kabed *zîyânô* va vazand pavan dâmân *azash* yehevûnḍ.

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XXXII. 6, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 6. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit ; D. $H_{17}$ omit ; $H_{17}$ prefixes . 6, 9. $K_{20}$ adds final . 6, 12. D. $H_6$ have for .

XXXIII. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 2, 1. D. . 2, 5. $H_{18}$ *jud,* Sans. *khâdanti.* 5, 3. $K_{20}$ omits , and adds it to 5, 4. 5, 9. $H_{17}$ . 5, 14. $K_{20}$ adds final . 6, 1. $H_{17}$ adds . 6, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final . 6, 8. $H_{17}$ om.

# Chapter XXXIV.



## Chapter XXXIV.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn *khrafstarân* hamâk tanû hamâî *jaḍḍ*.

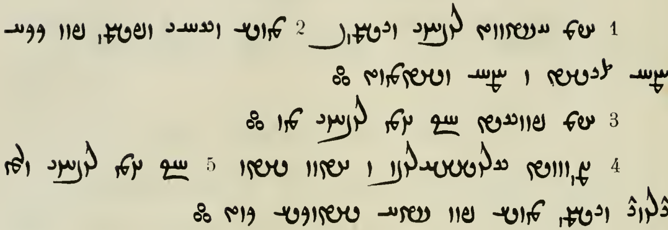
3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs *karḍ?*

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûnash, pavan *stih*, *mû gês va mû vad* madam âtâsh *vajârḍ*, 6 *va mûî va spûsh va rîshak madam âtâsh ramîtûnḍ;* 7 va âtâsh azîr tanû yîn hankhetûnḍ, *va* tanû-i *nafshman* pavan âtâsh dâsht.

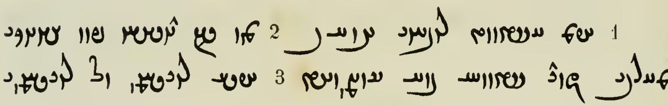
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XXXIV. 2, 2. D. omits . 2, 6. $H_{18}$ *juḍ*, Sans. *vidârayanti*. 3, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final . 5, 9. $H_{17}$ . 5, 10. D. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$ ; $H_{17}$ om. 5, 11—14. $H_{17}$ ; $H_{18}$ *namand*, Sans. *ûrṇâḥ;* P. ; all others , which might also be read *gêsûmônd*, but this is a modern form for *gêsû-hômand* , or *gês-hômand* . 5, 17.—6, 8. only in $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. 6, 4. compare *spish*, Vend. XVII. 3.; $K_{26}$ ; $H_{18}$ *sējash*, Sans. *yat mṛitânâm*. 6, 9. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ have for . 7, 7. D. $H_6$ om. 7, 9. $H_6$, $H_{17}$ .

## Chapter XXXV.



## Chapter XXXVI.



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### Chapter XXXV.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ *rûbân-i* nêshman-I 2 mûnash nasâî-i nafshman pavan kakâ hamâî *lîsht* va hamâî vashtamûnḍ.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman rûbân-i mûn?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûnash, pavan *stîh*, yâtûkîh karḍ.

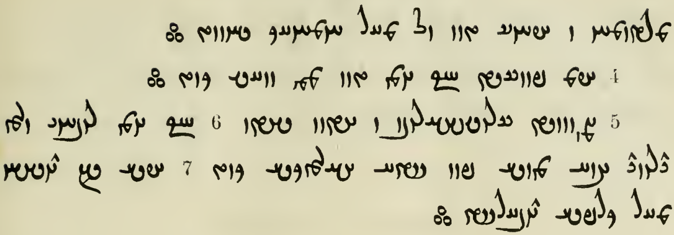
### Chapter XXXVI.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i *gabrâ-I* 2 *mûn*, *yîn* dûshahû, pavan khadûînak-*i* mâr-I-i chand *stûn-aĉ* barâ yekavîmûnâḍ; 3 *afash rôêshman val rôêshman-i*

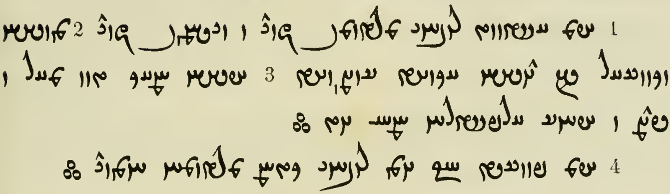
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XXXV. 1, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 7. or *lîyâḍ*, compare Pers. لیبیدن 'to chew'. 5, 9. $H_{17}$

XXXVI. 1, 2. $K_{26}$ 1, 4. $K_{20}$ 2, 1—2. $H_{17}$ 2, 5. only in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. 2, 8. D. ; $H_{17}$ ; perhaps stands for . 3, 1—2. $H_{17}$ . 3, 2. D. ; $H_6$ . 3, 3. D. . 3, 4. $K_{20}$ .



## Chapter XXXVII.



marḍûmân, va avârîk tanû val mâr *hûmânâk* yehevûnḍ.

4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?

5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman *darvand* gabrâ mûnash, pavan *stih*, yasharmôkîh karḍ; 7 afash *yîn* dûshahû mâr kerpîh *dûbârast.*

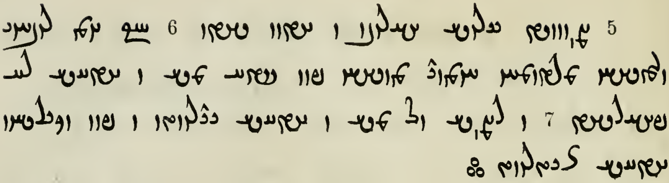
### Chapter XXXVII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i marḍûm-I chand *va nêshman-I chand,* 2 mûnshân nikûnsâr *yîn* dûshahû *akankht yekavîmûnâḍ*; 3 afshân hamâk *tanû* mâr va gazdum *va* avârîk khrafstarân hamâî *jalḍ.*

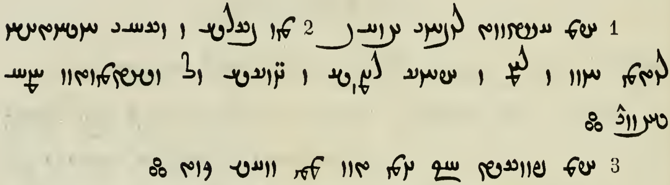
4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman rûbân-i kaḍâm marḍûmân *hômanand?*

XXXVI. 3, 11. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 6, 5. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 9. $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 7, 2. $H_{17}$ [illegible]; $K_{20}$ om. 7, 6. $H_{17}$ has [illegible] for [illegible].

XXXVII. 1, 6—8. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ om. 2, 3. D. om.; $H_{17}$ [illegible]. 2, 5. see XXIV. 2, 6. 2, 6. D. has [illegible] for [illegible]. 3, 3. $H_{17}$ om. 3, 7. D. $H_6$ om. 3, 11. $H_{18}$ *juḍ,* Sans. *vibhindanti.* 4, 8. [illegible] in all but $H_6$, $K_{26}$.



## Chapter XXXVIII.



5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân marḍûmân *hômanand* mûnshân, pavan stih, mayâ va âtâsh lâ pâhrîkht, 7 va rîmanîh val mayâ va âtâsh *yedrûntô, va pavan nikîrishnŏ âtâsh zektelûnḍ.*

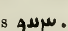
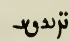
### Chapter XXXVIII.

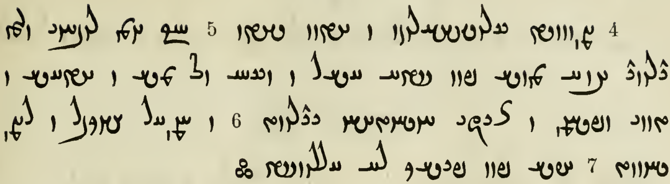
1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 *mûn* bisrayâ va nasâî-i *anshûtâân*, levatman khûnŏ va rîm, va avârîk rîmanîh va *gôndakîh*, val vashtamûntanŏ hamâî *yehabûnd.*

3 Afam *pûrsîḍ* aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs *karḍ?*

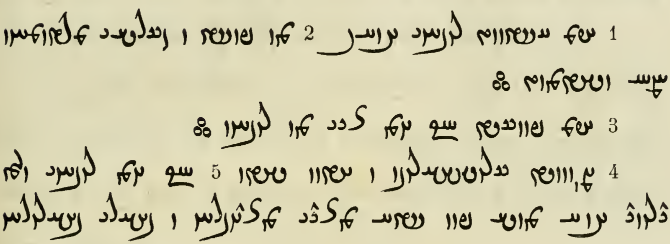
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XXXVII. 6, 6. $H_{17}$, $K_{26}$ ; $K_{20}$ om. 7, 7. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final . 7, 8—9. $K_{20}$ om. 7, 8—12. $H_{18}$ Sans. *yat nirîkshya vilokya vaishvânaro hataḥ.*

XXXVIII. 2, 1. D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$ add , which may be correct if *va* (2, 3) be omitted, as it is in $K_{20}$. 2, 5. $K_{20}$ adds . 2, 14.  in $H_6$, $H_{17}$, $K_{26}$, but the medial  is inserted, elsewhere, 13 times out of 15 occurrences of the word. 2, 18. $H_{17}$ has  for . 3, 2, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final .



## Chapter XXXIX.



4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand *gabrâ* mûnash, pavan stih, hîkhar va nasâî val mayâ va âtâsh va tanû-*i* nafshman va zakich-i anshûtâân yedrûnḍ; 6 va hamvâr khadûk-bar va rîman yehevûnḍ; 7 afash *pavan pîshak* lâ khalelûnast.

## Chapter XXXIX.

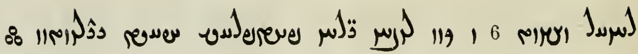
1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn pôst va bisrayâ-i *mardûmânŏ* hamâî *vashtamûnḍ.*

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman zak-i mûn *rûbânô?*

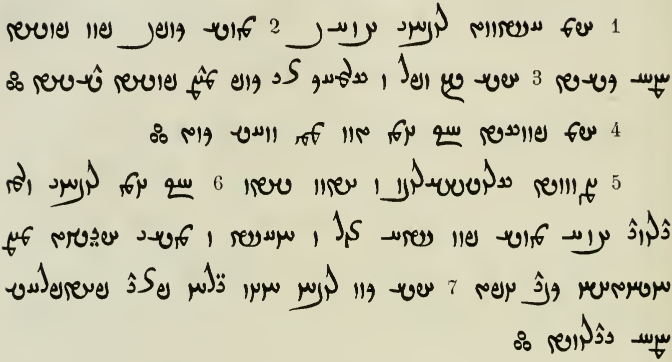
4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stih, môzd-i *môzdôbarân*, va bâhar-i bâharvarân,

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XXXVIII. 5, 6. $H_{17}$ om.; $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 5, 18. $H_6$ omits [illegible]. 7, 2—3. $H_{18}$ Sans. *yat barasnûma;* Dest. suggests [illegible], but no alteration seems necessary. XXXIX. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 2, 5. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final [illegible]. 2, 7. D. has [illegible] for [illegible]. 3, 7. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final [illegible]. 5, 3. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 5, 11. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible].



## Chapter XL.



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lakhvâr vakhdûnḍ; 6 *va* kevan rûbân girân pâḍafrâs avâyaḍ yedrûntanŏ.

## Chapter XL.

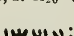
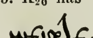
1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûnash kôf-I pavan pôsht hamâî kashîḍ; 3 afash yîn vafar va *sarmâk*, zak kôf madam pôsht dâsht.

4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?

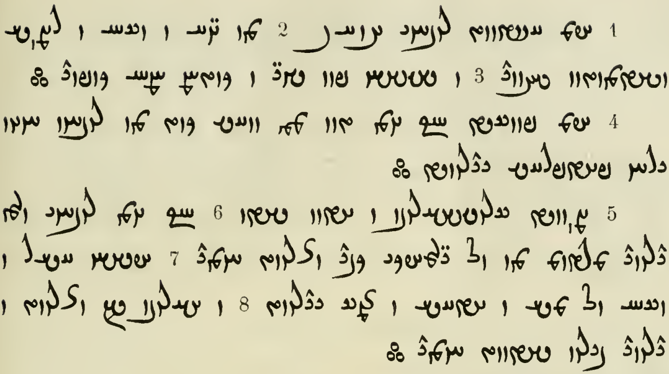
5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stih, zûr va anâst va milayâ-i avî-sûḍ *madam anshûtâân* kabed gûft; 7 afash kevan rûbân ângûn girân pazd pâḍafrâs hamâî yedrûnêḍ.

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XXXIX. 6, 1. D. om.

XL. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 3, 5. $K_{20}$ has  for . 6, 16. $H_{17}$ . 6, 17. D. ; $H_6$, $H_{17}$ .

## Chapter XLI.



## Chapter XLI.

1 *Afam* khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn gûh *va nasâî* va rîmanîh vashtamûntanŏ *yehabûnd*; 3 *va* shêdâân pavan *sang va karḍâm hamâî* kûfand.

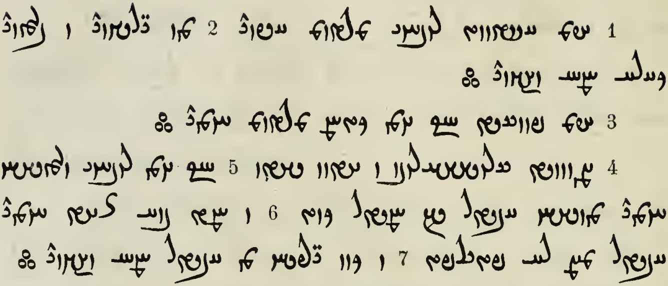
4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbânô ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

5 Yemaleluneḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand marḍûm, *mûn* val garmâvak-i kabed vazlûnḍ hômand, 7 *afshân* hîkhar va nasâî val mayâ va âtâsh va *zamîk* yedrûnḍ; 8 va yasharûbŏ yîn vazlûnḍ, va darvand bîrûn yâtûnḍ hômand.

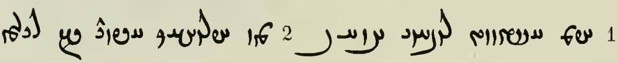
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XLI. 1, 1. B. $H_{17}$ omit this chapter. 2, 3—4. D. $H_6$ om. 2, 8. D. has for . 3, 1. all om. 3, 4. in all here, but elsewhere 8 times. 3, 5—6. $H_{18}$ om.; $K_{20}$ altered to ; see LII. 2, and compare Heb. קְדָם. 3, 7. $K_{20}$ adds . 6, 7. $H_{18}$ *pa* = . 7, 1. $H_{18}$ *vash* = . 7, 10. $K_{20}$ here and twice elsewhere, out of 7 occurrences of the word.

## Chapter XLII.



## Chapter XLIII.



### Chapter XLII.

1 *Afam* khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i *marḍûm* aêchand 2 mûn giryînand, va baramvand *kâlâ* hamâî vâdûnd.

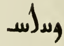
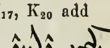
3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman kaḍâm *marḍûm* hômand.

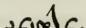
4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman *rûbân-i* valmanshân hômand, *mûnshân* abîḍar yîn amîḍar karḍ; 6 va *amat* barâ zâḍ hômand, abîḍar madam lâ *paḍîraft*; 7 va kevan garzishn min abîḍar ḥamâî vâdûnd.

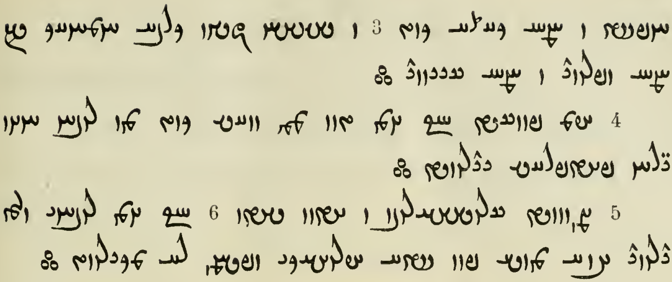
### Chapter XLIII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i *gabrâ-I* 2 mûn aperenâyîk aêchand yîn ragelman

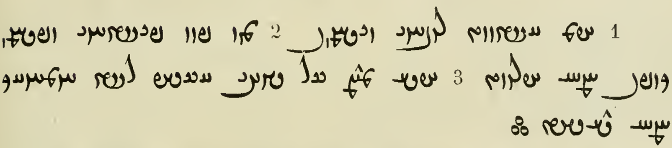
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XLII. 1, 1. B. omits this chapter. 1, 4. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ add . 2, 5. D. $H_{17}$ . 3, 6. $K_{20}$ adds . 5, 3. $K_{20}$ adds . 5, 6. $H_{17}$, $K_{20}$ om. 5, 6.—6, 9. $H_{18}$ Sans. *ye janakât janinyâḥ anayoḥ prasûtâ jâtâḥ santi, yaiḥ piturupari na pratyakarot.* 6, 2. $H_{17}$ om.

XLIII. 1, 4. D. .



## Chapter XLIV.



aûpast, va hamâî *kâlâ* karḍ; 3 va shêdâân, chîgûn kalbâ hûmânâk, yîn hamâî neflûnd va *hamâî* sedkûnd.

4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs *karḍ*, mûn rûbân ângûn *girân* pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

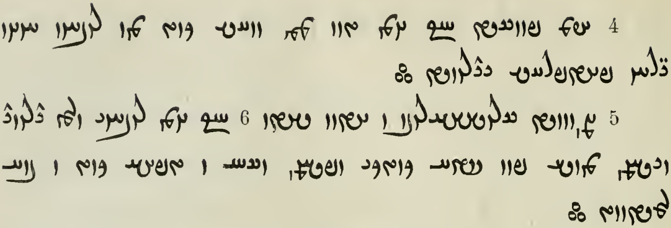
5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, *pavan stih*, aperenâyîk-i nafshman lâ mekadlûnḍ.

### Chapter XLIV.

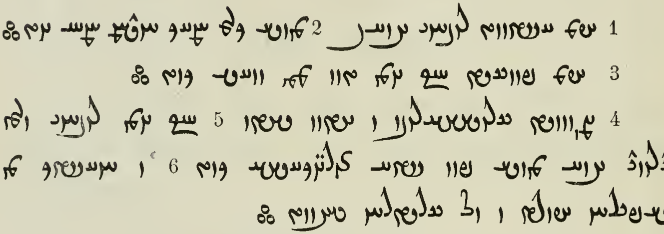
1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn, pavan *pêstân*-i nafshman, kôf-*I* hamâî *khefrûnḍ;* 3 afash madam sar sang-I-i asyâv, rasat hûmânâk, hamâî *dâsht.*

XLIII. 2, 9. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 3, 10. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 4, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 4, 12. $K_{26}$ adds final [illegible]. 6, 8—9. only in $K_{20}$.

XLIV. 2, 3. $K_{20}$ omits medial [illegible]. 2, 5. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 2, 7. D. $H_6$, $H_{17}$ [illegible]; $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 3, 9. 4, 2. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible].



## Chapter XLV.



4 Afam *pûrsîḍ* aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn *rûbânô* ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûnash, pavan stih, kûḍak-i nafshman nasâî va tapâh karḍ *va* barâ *ramîtûnḍ.*

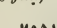
### Chapter XLV.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûnash kirm hamâk andâm hamâî *jalḍ.*

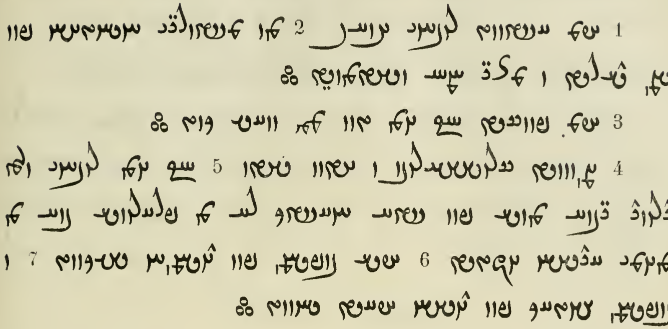
3 Afam *pûrsîḍ* aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs *karḍ*?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ *mûnash*, pavan stih, *zûr-gûkâsîh* karḍ; 6 va khvâstak min shapîrân *âvôrḍ*, va val sarîtarân *yehabûnḍ.*

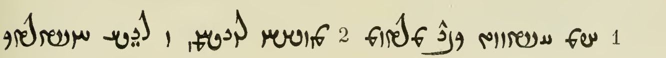
XLIV. 4, 10. $K_{20}$ omits final . 6, 16. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 18. D. has  for .

XLV. 2, 6. $H_{18}$ *juḍ,* Sans. *vibhindanti.* 3, 2, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final . 5, 7. D. . 5, 10. D. . 6, 5. $H_6$ adds final . 6, 9. $K_{20}$ adds final .

## Chapter XLVI.



## Chapter XLVII.



### Chapter XLVI.

1 Afam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i *gabrâ-I* 2 mûn mastôrg-*i* anshûtâân pavan yadman dârêḍ, va mazg hamâî vashtamûnêḍ.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ *mûnash*, pavan stih, khvâstak lâ min *frârûnîh*, barâ min mandavam-*i* khadîhân dûzḍîḍ; 6 afash *benafshman* pavan dûshmanân shedkûnḍ, 7 *va benafshman* khadû-tâk pavan dûshahû avâyaḍ *yehevûnd*.

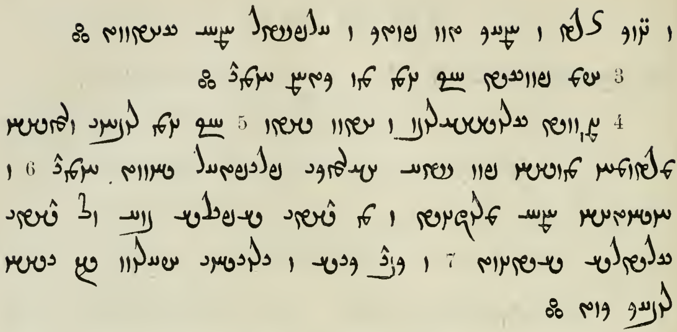
### Chapter XLVII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ kabed *marḍûm* 2 mûnshân *rôĉshman* va rêsh *aûsturḍak*,

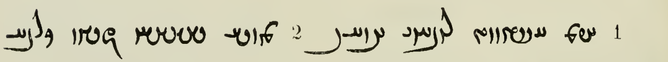
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XLVI. 1, 2. D. [Pahlavi]. 1, 4. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 2, 2. all omit [Pahlavi]. 5, 7. D. [Pahlavi]. 5, 13. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 5, 16. [Pahlavi] only in D. 6, 2. 7, 2. D. omits [Pahlavi]. 7, 1. $K_{20}$ puts this [Pahlavi] after 7, 2. 7, 7. D. $H_6$ have [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi].

XLVII. 1, 4. $H_{18}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 2, 2. [Pahlavi] in all but D. 2, 5. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi].



## Chapter XLVIII.



va gûnak zarḍ, va hamâk tanû pûḍak, va *khrafstar hamâî sâtûnḍ.*

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: *Denman* mûn kaḍâm hômand?

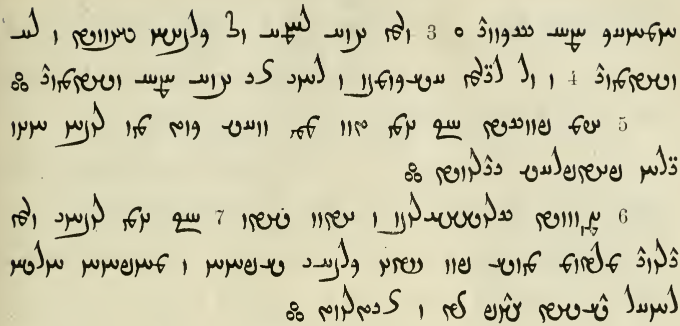
4 Yemaleluneḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân *marḍûmân* mûnshân, pavan stih, yasharmôk-i frîftâr yehevûnḍ hômand; 6 va *anshûtâân* hamâî marenchînîḍ, *va min* dâḍ-i *shapîrîh* barâ val dâḍ-i sarîtarîh yâîtyûnḍ; 7 *va* kabed kêsh va giravîshn-i *avârûnŏ* yîn gêhân *rûbâk* karḍ.

## Chapter XLVIII.

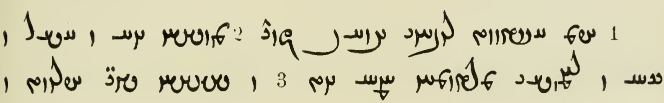
1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 *mûnash shêdâân*, chîgûn kalbâ

XLVII. 2, 14. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ [illegible]; $K_{20}$ adds [illegible]. 2, 15. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 2, 16. D. has [illegible] for [illegible]. 3, 4. D. om.; $H_6$ adds [illegible], but strikes out this addition. 5, 5. D. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ omit [illegible]. 6, 2. [illegible] in all but $K_{20}$. 6, 5–6. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 6, 8. B. has [illegible] for [illegible]. 7, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 7, 6. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 7, 9. $H_6$ adds [illegible].

XLVIII. 2, 1. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 2, 2. D. [illegible].



## Chapter XLIX.



hûmânâk, *hamâî sedkûnd.* 3 Valman gabrâ lakhmâ val *kalbâân* yehabûnêḍ, va lâ vashtamûnd; 4 va var, ragelman, *ashkômbŏ* va rân-i zak gabrâ hamâî vashtamûnd.

5 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, *mûn* rûbân ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

6 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand marḍûm mûnash, pavan *stih*, kalbâ-*i* shapânân va mânpânân khûrishn lakhvâr dâsht, *khadûf* zaḍ va zektelûnḍ.

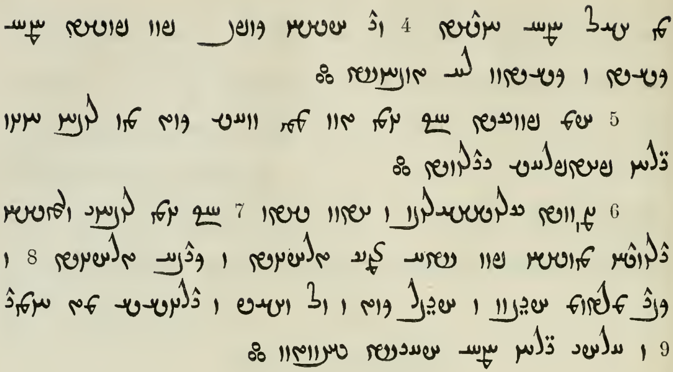
## Chapter XLIX.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I chand 2 mûnshân gûh va hîkhar va nasâî va rîmanîh-*i* marḍûmân hamâî *jalḍ;* 3 va shêdâân sang khefrûnḍ, va

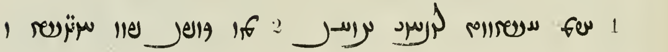
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XLVIII. 2, 6. D. $H_6$ om. 2, 7. B. [illegible]. 3, 5. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 4, 4. $K_{20}$ has [illegible], and $K_{26}$ [illegible], for final [illegible]. 5, 9. D. [illegible]. 7, 9. D. [illegible]. 7, 10. all omit [illegible]. 7, 17. *khad* substituted for *ay.*

XLIX. 2, 8. all omit [illegible]. 2, 11. $H_{18}$ *juḍ,* Sans. *vibhinna.*



## Chapter L.



min akhar hamâî *andakht*, 4 *vad* azshân kôf-I pavan pôsht hamâî kashîḍ, *va* kashîḍanŏ lâ *tûbânast*.

5 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbân ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

6 Yemalelunêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valmanshân* darvandân mûnshân, pavan stih, zamîk *tarâzînîḍ*, va kadbâ tarâzînîḍ; 8 va kabed marḍûm avî-bûn va avî-bar *karḍ*, va val *nîyâz va* daregûshîh maḍ hômand; 9 va kharâj-i girân hamâî avâyast yehabûntanŏ.

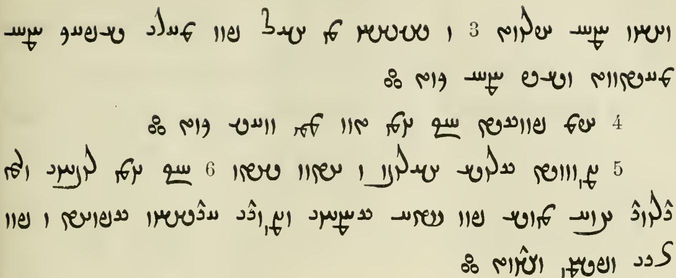
## Chapter L.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 *mûn* kôf-I, pavan angûst va

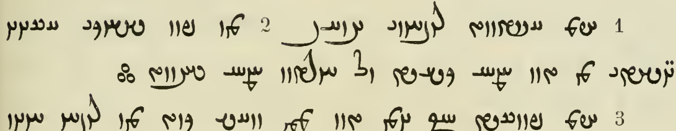
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XLIX. 3, 9.—4, 1. [Pahlavi] in all, which is a rare form for [Pahlavi], but may possibly be correct. 4, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 4, 11. D. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ add [Pahlavi]. 7, 4. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 7, 10. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; $H_{18}$ Sans. *pîḍitâ*. 8, 7. $K_{20}$ adds final [Pahlavi]. 8, 10. perhaps *nîshîp*, Pers. نشیب, نِشیو; $H_6$ adds the gloss بهایچه; $H_{18}$ transliterates it, in Sans., by *nâhîcha*. 8, 11. $K_{20}$ om.

L. 1, 2. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 2, 1. D. [Pahlavi].



## Chapter LI.



nâkhûn, hamâî khefrûnḍ; 3 va shêdâân, min akhar, pavan mâr-i *shapâk* hamâî *makhîtûnḍ nîhîp* hamâî karḍ.

4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?

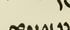
5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stih, sâmân-i vîmônd-i khadîhânŏ *spôkht*, va pavan zak-i nafshman vakhdûnḍ.

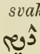
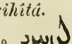
## Chapter LI.

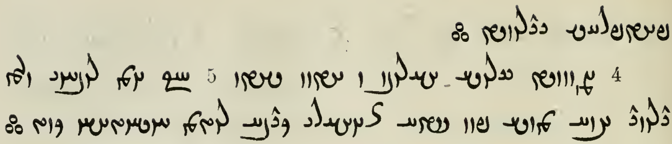
1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ rûbânô-i* gabrâ-I 2 mûn, pavan shânak-i *asînîn*, gûsht-*i* min tanû hamâî kashîḍ, val khûrḍanŏ hamâî yehabûnḍ.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs *karḍ*, *mûn* rûbân ângûn

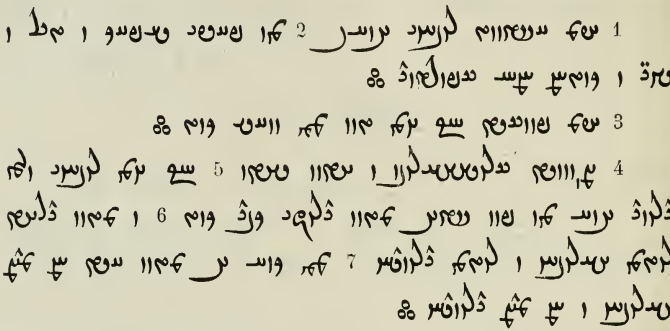
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L. 3, 7. $H_{18}$ Sans. *kṛishṇavarṇâḥ;* see XXVIII. 2. and LII. 2. 3, 9. D. has  for . 3, 10. $H_{18}$ *sēzh*, Sans. *mṛityum*. 6, 13. $H_{18}$ ; $K_{26}$ ; $H_{18}$ translates 6, 10—18 by Sans. *anyasya sîmâgṛihîtâ pashchât asau mṛitaḥ tatastena svakîyâ sîmâgṛihîtâ.*

LI. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 1, 3. $K_{20}$ . 2, 4. $K_{26}$ . 2, 5. $K_{20}$ omits . 3, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 3, 9. D. adds .



## Chapter LII.



pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand *gabrâ* mûnash, pavan stih, *zînhâr-i* kadbâ levatman anshûtâân karḍ.

### Chapter LII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-*I* 2 mûn fakhîz-i *shapâk* va tîr va sang va karḍâm hamâî spûrḍand.

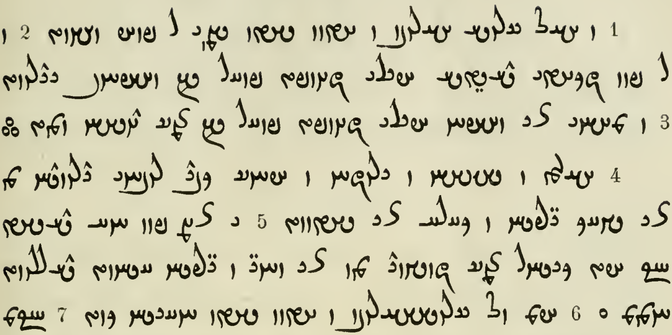
3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i valman* darvand gabrâ mûn, pavan stih, mitrô-drûj-i kabed karḍ; 6 va mitrô drukht levatman yasharûbân, va levatman darvandân; 7 maman kolâ-II mitrô aît, ham madam yasharûbân, va ham madam darvandân.

LI. 5, 6. D. om. 5, 10. in all but $H_{18}$; only in $K_{26}$.

LII. 1, 4. D. omits . 2, 3. $H_{18}$ gives no Sans. for this sentence; see XXVIII. 2 and L. 3. 5, 3. $K_{20}$ has for . 5, 4. $K_{20}$ .

# Chapter LIII.



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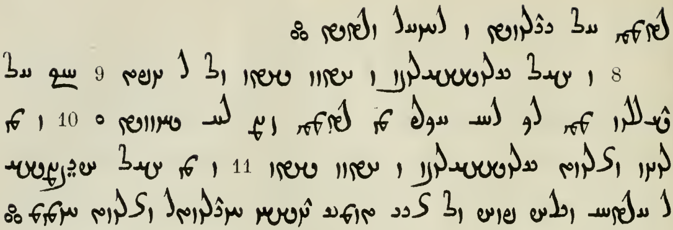
## Chapter LIII.

1 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, *yadman-i li* frâz vakhdûnḍ; 2 *va li pavan* Chakât-i-Dâîtîh, azîr-i *Chînûvat* pûhal, yîn *vîyâvân-I yedrûnḍ; 3 va mîyân-i zak vîyâvân, azîr-i Chînûvat pûhal, yîn* zamîk, dûshahû numûḍ.

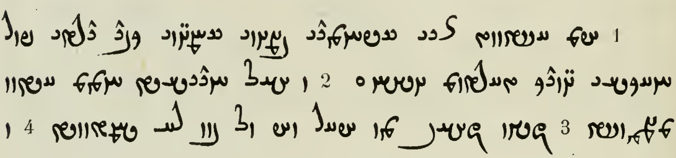
4 Akharman va shêdâân va drûjân va avârîk kabed rûbân-*i* darvandân, *min* zak jînâk, garzishn va kâlâ zak yâtûnḍ, 5 i zyam pavan *anâ* dâsht aîgh, haft kêshvar zamîk *jundînand* mûn zak vâng va garzishn ashnûḍ, dekhlûnḍ hômanam. 6 Afam val Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô *yêdatô*, khvahîshn karḍ, 7 *aîgham*

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LIII. 1, 8—9. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 2, 1—3. altered from [illegible] in $H_6$, $K_{20}$; D. [illegible]; $K_{26}$ [illegible]; $H_{18}$ *u man*, Sans. *ahancha*. 2, 7. $K_{20}$ omits medial [illegible]. 2, 10.—3, 8. only in $H_6$. 4, 9. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ have [illegible] for [illegible]. 4, 11. $K_{20}$ om. 5, 4. Z. *ana, anâ;* or *hanâ*, Syr. ܗܳܢܳܐ. 5, 10. so in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$; D. $H_6$ [illegible]; $H_{18}$ *chandanîḍ*, Sans. *âkampitâ;* compare Pers. جنبانیدن and Z. *yuz*. 6, 6. $K_{26}$ adds [illegible]. 7, 1. D. $K_{20}$ omit [illegible].



## Chapter LIV.



latamman al yedrûnêḍ, va lakhvâr *varḍêḍ.*

8 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, val li gûft 9 *aîgh*: Al *dekhlûn!* maman lak râî akaraz min latamman bîm lâ yehevûnêḍ. 10 *Va min* levînŏ vazlûnḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ va Âtarô yêdatô; 11 *va* min akhar, avî-bîmyîsh li, *Arḍâî* Vîrâf, frâz val zak-*i tômîk* dûshahû andarûntar vazlûnḍ hômanam.

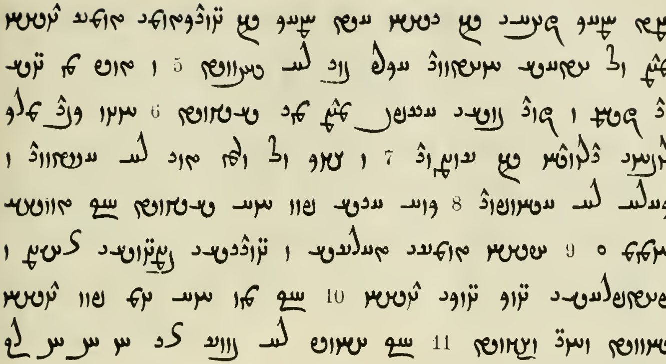
## Chapter LIV.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* zak-i sêj-hômand-i bîmgûn-*i* sahmgûn-i kabed-darḍ-*i* pûr-anâkîh-i gôndak târtûm dûshahû. 2 Va akhar andêshîḍ hômanam *aêtûn* medammûnast, 3 chîgûn châh-I mûn hazâr vâz val bûn lâ yâmtûnêḍ; 4 *va*

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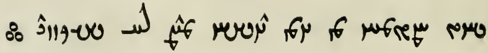
LIII. 7, 7. $H_{18}$ *vardan,* Sans. *vyâvarttasva;* all others . 9, 1. D. om. 9, 3. $K_{20}$ has  for . 10, 1—2. $K_{20}$ om. 11, 1. $K_{26}$ om. 11, 6. perhaps  for  = . 11, 10. $K_{20}$ omits . 11, 11. $K_{20}$ .

LIV. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ ; $H_{18}$ adds *rvã* = . 1, 5. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ have  for . 1, 8. $K_{20}$ omits . 2, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final . 4, 1. $K_{20}$ om.

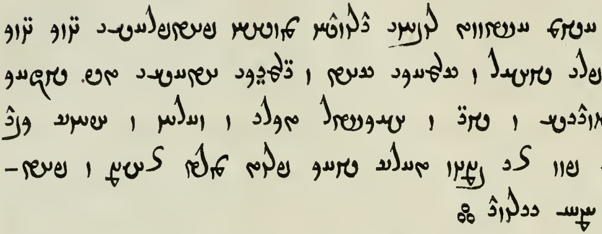


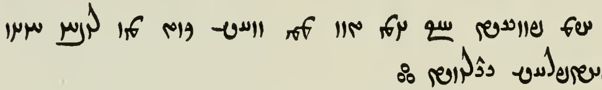
amat hamâk chîbâ-*i* yîn gêhân aît, *hamâk* yîn gôndaktûm-*i* tômîk dûshahû madam val âtâsh *hankhetûnd*, akaraz *bôî lâ yehabûnêḍ*; 5 *va tanidich* min gôsh vad chashm, va chand *bûsh-i asp-I* madam mûî yakhsenunêḍ, 6 ângûn kabed *marak* rûbân-i darvandân yîn *yekavîmûnd*, 7 va khadûk val *valman* tanid lâ khadîtûnd, va kâlâ lâ ashnûvand; 8 kolâ khadîh pavan anâ yakhsenunêḍ aîgh: Tanûîhâ hômanam. 9 Afshân tômîk-*i* târîkîh *va gôndakîh-i* bîmgûnîh-*i* *zâkham va* pâḍafrâs-i gûnak gûnak-i dûshahû, 10 aîgh *mûn anâ* yôm pavan dûshahû *yehevûnêḍ*, vâng vâdûnêḍ 11 aîgh: *Hâvandich* lâ bûndak *zak* 9000

LIV. 4, 4. $H_6$ has و for د; all others omit it. 4, 8. $K_{20}$ . 4, 10. $K_{20}$ omits د. 4, 16. D. $H_{18}$ have م for دٓ. 4, 18.—5, 2. $H_{18}$ *bi na dihēḍ tandîzha*, Sans. *kimapi na bibhartti tejomayam ujvalam.* 4, 19. $K_{20}$ adds . 5, 1. $K_{20}$ د. 5, 2. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 5, 9—10. $H_{18}$ *asēzhē*, Sans. *shuddhaye amṛityumatâm.* 5, 9. $H_6$ has for د. 5, 10. D. . 6, 3. $H_{18}$ *margh*, Sans. *mṛityumatâm.* 6, 7. D. has for دٓ. 7, 4. $H_{15}$ om. 9, 2. D. has for د. 9, 4—5. $K_{20}$ د. 9, 6. $K_{26}$ omits د. 9, 7. $H_{18}$, $K_{26}$ . 9, 8. $K_{26}$ om. 10, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 10, 3. $H_{18}$ *ai*, Sans. *sadaiva tishṭhanti* for 10, 3—7; perhaps is miswritten for , as both are represented by Pâz. *ē*. 10, 7. D. has م for . 11, 2. compare Pers. هنوز. 11, 5. $H_{18}$, $H_{26}$ om.



## Chapter LV.

1 

2 

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*shanat*, *amatmân* min denman dûshahû madam lâ shedkûnd?

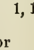
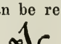
### Chapter LV.

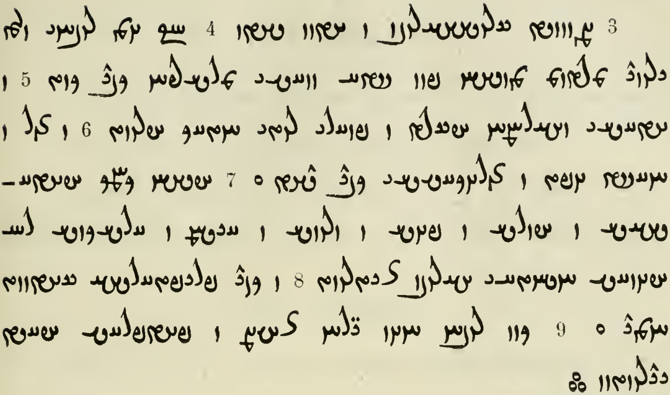
1 Adînam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i darvandân *mûnshân* pâḍafrâs-i gûnak gûnak, *chîgûn* vafar-*i snêshar*, va sarmâk-i sakht, va *garmîk*-i âtâsh-i tîz-sôjâk, va dûsh-gôndakîh va sang va khâkistar, *takarg* va vârân, va avârîk kabed anâkîh, pavan zak *bîmgûn* târîk jînâk frôḍ *mûrḍ*, zâkham *va* pâḍafrâs hamâî yedrûnd.

2 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, *mûn* rûbân ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

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LIV. 11, 7. $H_6$ , which D. adds. 11, 8. D. .

LV. 1, 5. $H_{18}$ *pa jahā*. 1, 9. $H_{18}$ om. 1, 10. D. has  for ; all others omit , but see LXIV. 3. 1, 11. compare Z. *snaêzhâḍ*, Vend. II. 22; Dest. reads *sôhâr*; $H_{18}$ omits the Pâz. from this word to the end of the sentence. 1, 16. $K_{20}$ has  for . 1, 26. D. prefixes . 1, 35. D. $K_{26}$ have  for , and $H_6$ can be read the same, as the bottom stroke of the  is hardly visible. 1, 39. $K_{20}$ . 1, 41. only in D. $K_{20}$. 2, 9. D. .

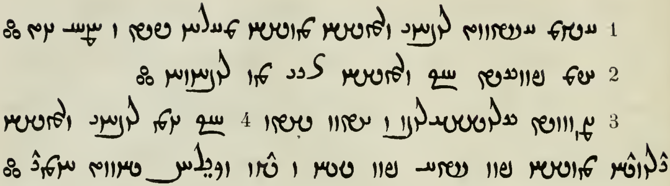


3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand *marḍûm* mûnshân, pavan stih, vanâs-*i* marg-arjân kabed karḍ, 5 va âtâsh-*i* *Vâhrâmân* afsurḍ, va pûhal-*i* rûḍ-i *hû-tâk khefrûnḍ;* 6 va zûr va *anâst* gûft va *zûr-gûkâsîh*-i kabed dâḍ. 7 Afshân *kâmak apâḍakhshâîh*; va âzûrîh, va payûsh va varenôîh va *khêshm* va *arashkôîh* râî, *avî-vanâs* anshûtâ-i yasharûbŏ zektelûnḍ; 8 va kabed *frîftâryîsh* sâtûnḍ *hômand.* 9 Kevan rûbân *ângûn* girân zâkham *va* pâḍafrâs avâyaḍ yedrûntanŏ.

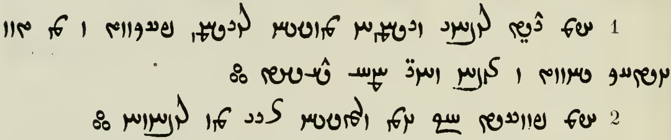
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LV. 4, 3. $K_{26}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 4, 6. D. [Pahlavi], but it should be the collective noun [Pahlavi]. 4, 10. [Pahlavi] only in $K_{26}$. 5, 2. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit [Pahlavi]. 5, 3. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 5, 6. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 5, 8. compare Pers, تاختن. 5, 9. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 4. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 6, 7. D. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ have [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; $H_6$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 7, 2. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 7, 3. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 7, 11. or *aêshm.* 7, 13. [Pahlavi] in all but D.; perhaps *arashkunîh.* 7, 15. [Pahlavi] in all but $K_{20}$. 8, 3 D. has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 8, 5. D. has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 9, 3. D. om.; $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 9, 6. $K_{26}$ om.

## Chapter LVI.



## Chapter LVII.



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### Chapter LVI.

1 *Adînam* khadîtûnd rûbân-i valmanshân *mûnshân* mârân gazîd va hamâî *jald.*

2 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Valmanshân zak-*i* mûn *rûbânôân?*

3 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman *rûbân*-i valmanshân darvandân mûnshân, pavan stih, pavan Yadadân va dînô *nikîrâî* yehevûnd hômand.

### Chapter LVII.

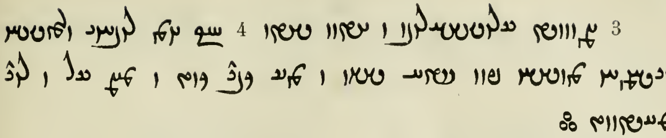
1 Afam dîd rûbân-i nêshmanân mûnshân rôêshman peskûnd, *va* min tanû javîdâk yehevûnd; va zûbân vâng hamâî dâsht.

2 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman *valmanshân* zak-i mûn *rûbânôân?*

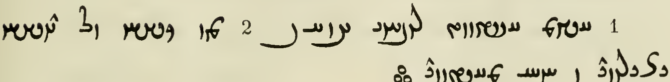
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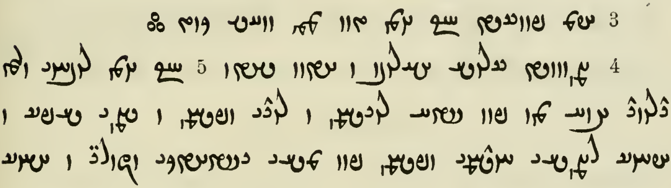
LVI. 1, 1. $H_{18}$ *avam.* 1, 5. D. [Pahlavi]. 1, 10. $H_{18}$ *jud,* Sans. *nighnanti.* 2, 5. D. omits [Pahlavi]. 2, 7. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit [Pahlavi], but $K_{26}$ adds it at the end. 4, 3. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 4, 13. $H_{18}$ *nigērâi,* Sans. *avaloptârah;* see Mkh. XXXVI. 13.

LVII. 1, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 5. D. adds [Pahlavi]. 2. 8. [Pahlavi] only in $H_6$.



## Chapter LVIII.





3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân nêshmanân mûnshân, pavan stih, shîvan *va* mûyak kabed karḍ, va madam sar va rôd makhîtûnḍ.

## Chapter LVIII.

1 Adînam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn kashân val dûshahû *yezderûnd*, va hamâî *makhîtûnd*.

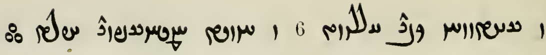
3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand *gabrâ mûn*, pavan stih, *rôêshman va* rôd-i nafshman *va* yadman-i shafîk, va avârîk rîmanîh-i andâm-i nafshman, pavan mayâ-i *îstâdak-i* vazûrg, va khânîk,

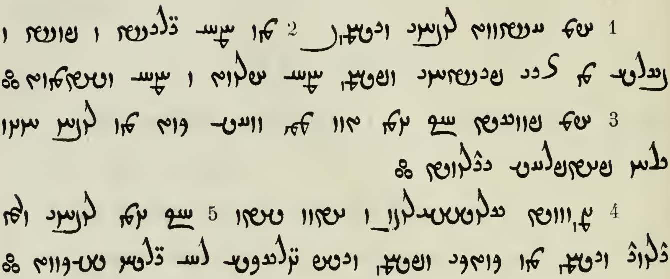
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LVII. 4, 10. D. $K_{20}$ om.

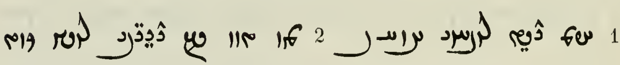
LVIII. 2, 5. D. has for . 2, 8. D. has for ; $H_{18}$ *mîraḍ*. 5, 6. $K_{20}$ . 5, 7. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ . 5, 10. in all but D. 5, 11, 14. $K_{20}$ om. 5, 24. $K_{20}$ has for , and omits .



## Chapter LIX.



## Chapter LX.



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*va* sâtûnân, *kabed* khalelûnḍ; 6 *va* Horvadaḍ ameshôspend âzarḍ.

## Chapter LIX.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn hamâî girîst, va *pôst* va bisrayâ min zak-*i pêstân*-i nafshman hamâî khefrûnḍ va hamâî vashtamûnḍ.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbân ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 âigh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûn kûḍak-i nafshman nîyâz gûrsakîh râî giryân *shedkûnḍ*.

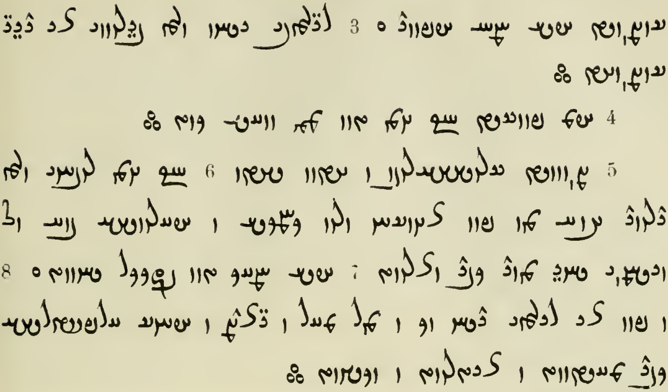
## Chapter LX.

1 Afam dîḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn tanû yîn dîg-I-i rûyîn karḍ

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LVIII. 5, 28. $K_{20}$ om. 5, 30. $K_{20}$ . 6, 1. $K_{20}$ om.

LIX. 1, 2. in all but $K_{26}$. 2, 5. D. . 2, 9. D. omits . 2, 10. $K_{26}$ omits medial . 5, 14. D. has for .



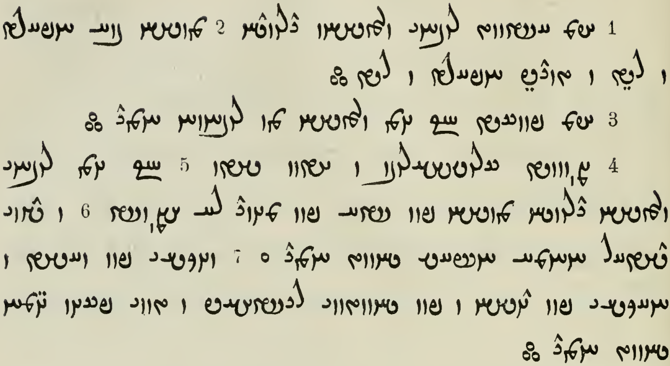
yekavîmûnêḍ; afash hamâî *affûnd.* 3 Ragelman-*I*-i *dashinô valman bîrûnŏ*-i zak dîg *yekavîmûnâḍ.*

4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?

5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand *gabrâ* mûn *pavan* zîvandakân varenô-*kâmakîh* va avârûnyîsh barâ val nêshman-i shûî-*mônd* kabed vazlûnḍ, 7 afash hamâk tanû bazak-kar yehevûnḍ. 8 *Va* pavan zak ragelman-i dashin, vak va môr, mâr va *gazdum,* va avârîk *khrafstarîhâ kabed makhîtûnḍ* va zektelûnḍ *va neksûnḍ.*

LX. 2, 10. D. has for . 3, 1. D. omits . 3, 2. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final . 3, 3. D. adds . 3, 4. final only in $H_6$. 3, 7. D. has for . 6, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 6, 6. D. om. 6, 8. $K_{20}$ adds . 6, 11. so in all, but perhaps may be meant. 6, 18. $H_{18}$ *aja tâ;* P. . 8, 1. D. $K_{20}$ om. 8, 11. $K_{20}$ . 8, 14. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ . 8, 15. $K_{20}$ om. 8, 16. D. has for . 8, 20. $K_{20}$ adds final . 8, 19—20. $H_{18}$ om., but adds: *pâi bandĕ vâstr ô gâvă vîmâr dâḍ,* Sans. *pâdaikenacha pûlakaikañ tṛiṇadhânyasya gave kleshamate dadau;* compare XXXII. 6.

## Chapter LXI.



## Chapter LXI.

1 Afam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i *valmanshânŏ* darvandân 2 mûnshân barâ aûpârḍ va rîḍ, *va tanidîch aûpârḍ va rîḍ.*

3 Afam *pûrsîḍ* aîgh: Denman valmanshân mûn *rûbânôân* hômand?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân darvandân mûnshân, pavan stih, *pavan* mînavad lâ *hêmnunast*, 6 va *dînô-i* dâḍâr Aûharmazd *ansipâs* yehevûnḍ hômand. 7 Nadûkîh-*i* pavan vahisht, va anâkîh-*i* pavan dûshahû, va pavan yehevûntanŏ-*i rîst-akhîz* va tanû-*i* pasînŏ gûmân yehevûnḍ *hômand.*

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LXI. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 1, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 2, 6—7. $H_{18}$ *dadicha;* all others [illegible]. 2, 8—10. P. om.; $H_{18}$ renders the whole sentence by Sans.: *hadanti punargilanti, dvitîyañ hadanti punargilanti.* 3, 2. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 3, 7. D. omits [illegible]; $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit [illegible]. 5, 9. $H_{18}$ *ka.* 5, 12. $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 6, 2. so in all; Dest. suggests [illegible]. 6, 5. $H_{18}$ *hû sipâs.* 7, 1. D. $K_{26}$ omit [illegible]. 7, 5. D. $K_{20}$ omit [illegible]. 7, 10. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 7, 11. $K_{26}$ omits [illegible]. 7, 13. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 7, 17. D. has [illegible] for [illegible].

## Chapter LXII.

1 [illegible] 2 [illegible]
[illegible]
3 [illegible]
[illegible]
4 [illegible] 5 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 6 [illegible]
[illegible]

## Chapter LXIII.

1 [illegible] 2 [illegible]

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### Chapter LXII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ *rûbân-i* nêshman-I 2 mûn, pavan shânak-i astnînŏ, var va pêstân-i nafshman hamâî *peskûnḍ*.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbânô ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valman* darvand nêshman mûnash, pavan stih, shûî *va* sardâr tar mînîḍ, va saryâ yehevûnḍ va dâsht; 6 afash nafshman tanû arâst, levatman gabrâ-i khadîhân avârûn karḍ.

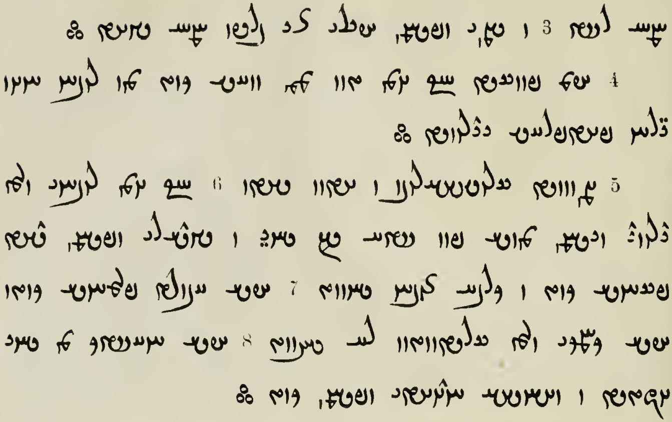
### Chapter LXIII.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 *mûn* pavan hûzvân *barîjan-I-i garm*

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LXII. 1, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 10. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 5, 4. D. adds [illegible]. 5, 11. $K_{20}$ om.

LXIII. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 2, 1. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 2, 4—5. [illegible] in all; $H_{19}$ Sans. *chhidyate sutaptâ*.



hamâî *list*; 3 va yadman-i nafshman azîr-i zak *barîjan* hamâî sûkht.

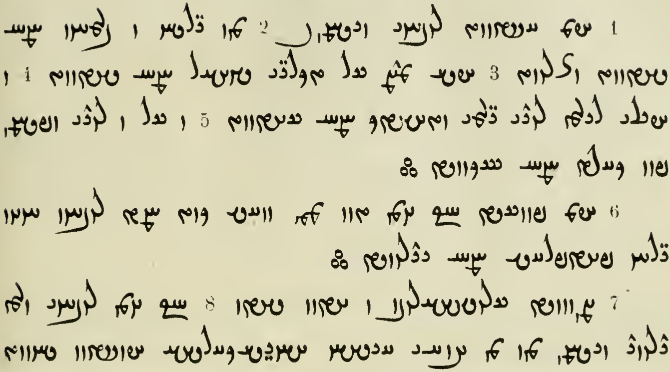
4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs *karḍ*, *mûn* rûbân ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand *nêshman* mûnash, pavan stih, yîn shûî va sardâr-*i* nafshman dâḍ-pasukhôîh *karḍ*, va kalbâ-zûbân *yehevûnḍ*; 7 *afash* abûrḍ-farmânîh *kartô; afash* kâmak-i valman sarîtûntanŏ *lâ yehabûnḍ*; 8 afash *khvâstak* min shûî dûzḍîḍ, va nihânyîsh andôkht-*i* nafshman karḍ.

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LXIII. 2, 7. $H_{18}$ *rasaḍ*, Sans. *kriyate*. 3, 6. $K_0$ [illegible]. 4, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 4, 9. D. [illegible]. 6, 6. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 13. all omit [illegible]. 6, 17. $H_{18}$ om.; $K_6$ adds final [illegible]. 6, 21. $H_{18}$ adds *hend*, Sans. *vidyate*. 7, 1, 5. $H_{18}$ om. 7, 4. $K_0$ omits final [illegible]. 7, 9—10. $H_{18}$ om. 8, 2. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 8, 8. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible].

## Chapter LXIV.



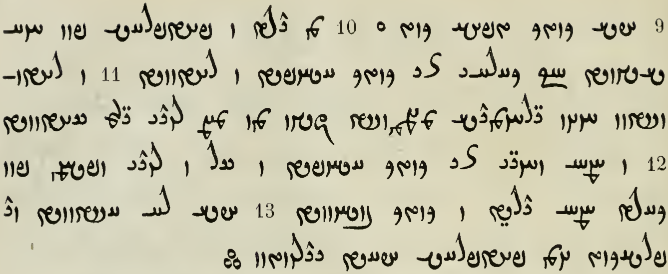
## Chapter LXIV.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn *giryân* va *baramânŏ* hamâî yâtûnḍ vazlûnḍ; 3 afash madam sar takarg-i *snêshar hamâî yâtûnḍ*; 4 *va* azîr-i ragelman *rûd-i* garm-i *vaḍâkhtak* hamâî sâtûnḍ; 5 va sar va rôd-*i* nafshman pavan kârḍ hamâî *sedkûnêḍ*.

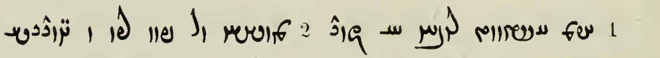
6 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, *amat rûbânô ângûn* girân pâḍafrâs hamâî yedrûnêḍ?

7 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 8 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûn min gabrâ-i khadîhân *akhvêshkâryîsh* âpûstanŏ *yehevûnḍ*,

LXIV. 1, 2. [illegible] in all but $K_{26}$. 2, 2. D. [illegible]; $H_{18}$ omits it in Pâz., but gives Sans. *rudantî*. 2, 4. $H_{18}$, P. have [illegible] for [illegible]. 3, 5. $H_{18}$ *vafar;* see LV. 1, 11. 3, 6—7. $H_{18}$ om. 4, 1. D. om. 4, 4. or *rûî-i*. 4, 6. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 5, 4. D. omits [illegible]. 5, 9. D. [illegible]; $H_6$ [illegible] with the gloss [illegible]; $H_{18}$ *brîniḍ*. 6, 9. D. [illegible]. 6, 10. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 6, 11. $H_6$ omits final [illegible]. 8, 11. D. $H_6$ have [illegible] for [illegible]. 8, 13. D. $H_6$ [illegible].



## Chapter LXV.



9 *afash* kûḍak tapâh *karḍ.* 10 *Min* darḍ va pâḍafrâs pavan anâ yakhsenunêḍ, *aîgh* kâlâ-i zak kûḍak ashnuvêḍ, va rehatûnêḍ; 11 va rehatûnastanŏ *ângûn gar-hômandîh medammûnast*, *chîgûn mûn madam rûd-i garm* sâtûnêḍ; 12 va *hamâî* vâng-i zak kûḍak ashnuvêḍ, va sar va rôd-*i* nafshman pavan kâraḍ hamâî *darêḍ*, va kûḍak *bavîhûnêḍ.* 13 afash lâ khadîtûnêḍ vad frashakarḍ; denman *pâḍâfrâs* avâyaḍ *yedrûntanŏ.*

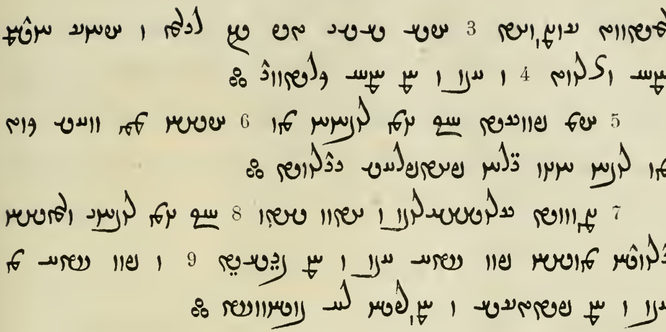
### Chapter LXV.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân *aê*-chand 2 *mûnshân* var pavan lajan va gôndakîh

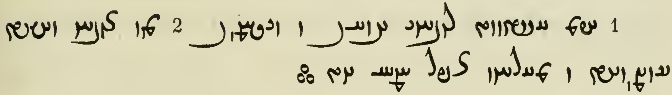
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LXIV. 9, 1. $H_{18}$ *ke.* 9, 4. $K_{20}$ adds final . 10, 1. $H_{18}$ prefixes *nûn* = . 10, 8. $H_{18}$ adds *û men kôdak gerîû estaḍ* = . 11, 3—10. $H_{18}$ *ôi azhēr pâi rûi vadâkhta hamē.* 11, 6. $H_6$ omits final . 11, 7. $K_{20}$ . 11, 9. $K_{20}$ omits . 12, 2. $H_{18}$ om. 12, 10. $K_{20}$ omits . 12, 15. $H_{18}$ *brîneḍ.* 12, 18. D. has , and $H_6$ , for . 13, 7. D. $H_6$ om. 13, 9. D. $H_6$ ; $H_{18}$ om.

LXV. 1, 4. $K_{20}$ has for . 2, 1. some Pâz. MSS. add *añdâ* = .



## Chapter LXVI.



-ramîtûnḍ *yekavîmûnâḍ*; 3 *afash* dâs-i tîz yîn ragelman va avârîk andâm hamâî vazlûnḍ; 4 va abû va am hamâî *karîtûnd.*

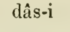
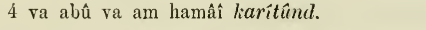
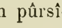
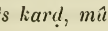
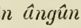
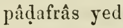
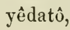
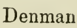
5 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *rûbânân mûn?* 6 *afshân maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbân ângûn girân* pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

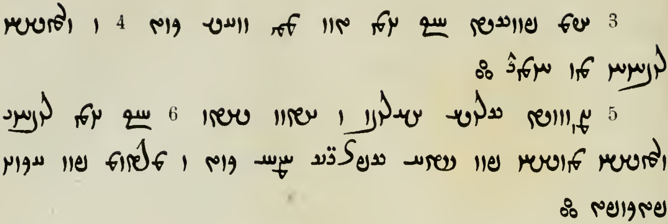
7 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 8 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valmanshân* darvandân mûnshân, pavan stih, abû va am *bêshîḍ;* 9 va pavan *stih*, min abû va am *pêtitîkîh* va amûrzishn lâ *bavîhûnast.*

## Chapter LXVI.

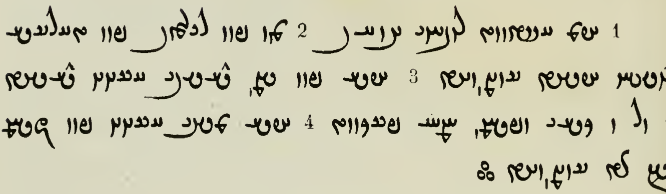
1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I *va* nêshman-I 2 mûn zûbân *nihâḍ* yekavîmûnâḍ, va mârânŏ zafar hamâî *jalḍ.*

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LXV. 2, 8. $H_{18}$ om. 3, 1. so in all, but  seems better. 4, 6. D. has  for . 5, 5.—6, 7. $K_{20}$ . 5, 6.—6, 1. D. . 6, 5. D. . 6, 8. D. om. 8, 4. $K_{20}$ adds . 8, 12. $K_{20}$ . 9, 3. $K_{20}$ . 9, 8. D. . 9, 12. $H_6$ .
LXVI. 1, 5. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 3. so in all; Dest. suggests , compare  XXIX. 2. 2, 9. $H_{18}$ *juḍ*, Sans. *khâdanti.*



## Chapter LXVII.



3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *tanû* maman vanâs *karḍ?* 4 *va* valmanshân *rûbânân* mûn hômand?

5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûḅân-i valmanshân mûnshân, pavan stih, *spazgîk hamâî karḍ*, *va* marḍûm pavan akvîn patkûft.

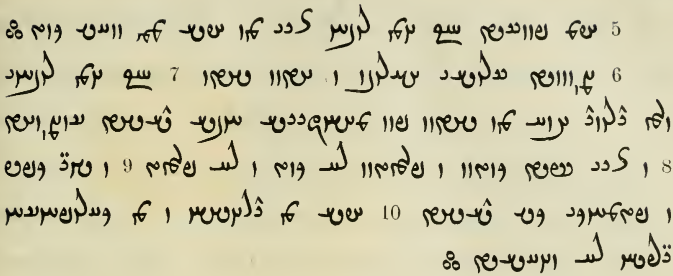
### Chapter LXVII.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn *pavan* ragelman-I pavan târîkîh dûshahû avîkht yekavîmûnâḍ; 3 *afash pavan yadman*, *dâs-I-i asînîn dâsht*, *va* var va kash-*i* nafshman hamâî peskûnḍ; 4 *afash* mîkh-i asînîn *pavan* chashm *yîn* zaḍ *yekavîmûnâḍ*.

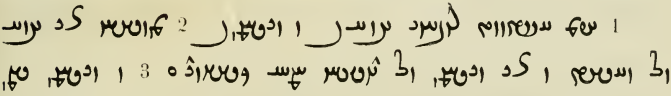
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LXVI. 3, 5. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 4, 1. $K_{20}$ reads this as the final [illegible] of 3, 8. 4, 3. D. [illegible]. 6, 8—11. $K_{20}$ [illegible].

LXVII. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 2, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 3, 1. D. $H_6$ prefix [illegible]. 3, 1—7. $H_{18}$ *vas padakhēsh tēzh âhinî*, Sans. *bahubhiḥ kaṇṭakaistîkshṇairlohadhâtoḥ*. 3, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 3, 10. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 4, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 4, 4. $H_{18}$ *andar* = [illegible]. 4, 6. $H_{18}$ om. 4, 8. D. has [illegible] for [illegible].



## Chapter LXVIII.



5 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *rûbân* zak-i mûn? afash maman vanâs karḍ?

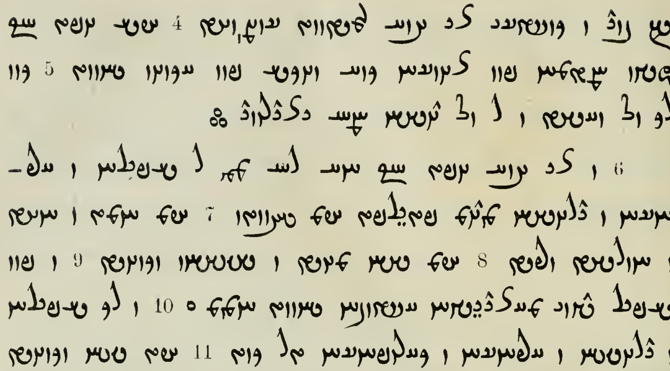
6 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-i yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i valman* darvand gabrâ *mûn shatrô pavan mîyânjîkîh aûbash* dâsht yekavîmûnâḍ; 8 *va* zak-i sazîḍ *karḍanŏ va* farmûḍanŏ, *lâ karḍ va lâ farmûḍ?* 9 va sang, kafîz va paḍmânak-i kas dâsht, 10 *afash min darcgûshân va min kârûvânîkân garzishn lâ nyôkhshîḍ.*

### Chapter LXVIII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i *gabrâ-I* va nêshman-I 2 mûnshân zak gabrâ *val* vahisht, va zak nêshman val dûshahû, *hamâî* kashînand· 3 *Va* nêshman yadman

LXVII. 5, 5. $K_{20}$ . 7, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 7, 4. D. adds . 7, 7—11. $H_{18}$ *sihir pa myă pâk khush*, Sans. *yasmai nagarasya madhye sthitâ.* 8, 1 $H_{18}$ *kashă.* 8, 4—5. $H_{18}$ om. 8, 7—11. $H_{6}$, $K_{20}$ prefix ; $H_{18}$ *u nē farmûḍ nē karda.* 10, 1—9. $H_{18}$ om. 10, 3. D. has for . 10, 6. D. has , and $K_{20}$ , for . 10, 7—8. D. .

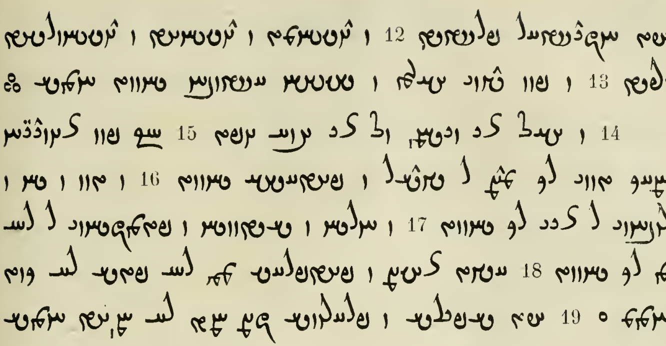
LXVIII. 1, 4. $K_{20}$ . 2, 4. $K_{20}$ . 2, 11. $H_{18}$ om. 3, 1. $H_{18}$ adds *ă* = .



*yûn band va kûstik-i* zak gabrâ *ramîtûnd* yekavîmûnâḍ, 4 afash gûft aîgh: Chîgûn *amatmân* pavan zîvandakân kolâ nadûkîh pavan akvînŏ yehevûnḍ, 5 kevan lak val vahisht, va li val dûshahû, *hamâî yezderûnd?*

6 Va zak gabrâ gûft aîgh: Anâ râî; maman *li* shapîrân va *arjânîkân* va daregûshân *mandavam paḍîraft,* afam *yehabûntô;* 7 afam hûmat va hûkht va hûvarsht varzîḍ; 8 *afam* Yadadân *mînîḍ*, va shêdâânŏ *nikûînîḍ;* 9 va *pavan* shapîr dînô-i *Mâzdayasnân* astôbân yehevûnḍ hômanam. 10 Va lak shapîrân *va daregûshân* va arjânîkân va *kârûvânîkân tar* karḍ; 11 afat Yadadân *nikûînîḍ*,

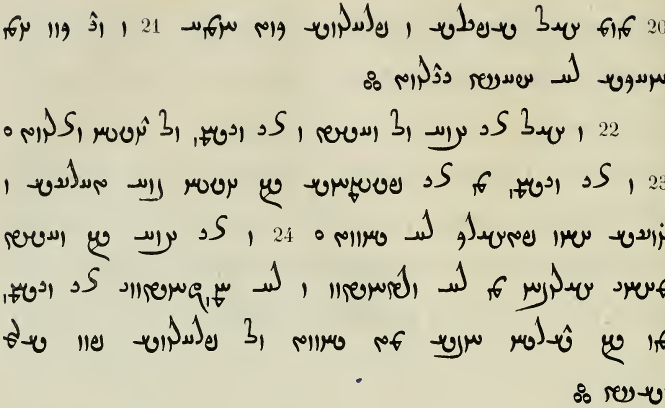
LXVIII. 3, 4—7. $H_{18}$ *ô kushtî band;* D. has for ; $K_{20}$ omits . 3, 10. D. has for . 4, 5. D. . 5, 9. $H_{18}$ *chirâ.* 5, 10. D. omits medial . 6, 9. D. . 6, 12. $H_{18}$ adds *kâravânîă* = . 6, 15. $H_{18}$ om. 6, 16. $H_{18}$ adds *sinâishni kard* = . 6, 18. D. omits final ; $H_6$, $K_{20}$ take it as *va.* 8, 1. $K_{20}$ . 8, 3. $H_{18}$ adds *u sitâîḍ* = . 8, 6. compare Pers. نِکوهیدن. 9, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 9, 5. $K_{20}$ has for . 10, 4—5. after 10, 9. in $H_{18}$. 10, 9. D. has for . 10, 10. $H_{18}$ adds *u anâzarm* = . 11, 3. $K_{20}$ has for .



*afat aûzdistâr* parastîḍ; 12 *va dûsh-hûmat* va dûsh-hûkht va dûsh-hûvarsht varzîḍ; 13 va pavan dînô-*i Akharman va* shêdâân astôbân yehevûnḍ *hômanîh.*

14 Va akhar, zak nêshman *val zak gabrâ gûft* 15 aîgh: *Pavan* zîvandakân, *hamâk tanû-i lak madam li sardâr va pâḍakhshah* yehevûnḍ; 16 va tanû va jân va *rûbânô*-i li zak-*i* lak yehevûnḍ; 17 va khûrishn va *yâîtûnishn* va *padmûjishnô*-i li râî, min lak yehevûnḍ; 18 *adînat* zâkham va pâḍafrâs maman râî paḍash lâ karḍ hômanam? 19 Afat shapîrîh va *frârûnîh* chîm, *amat* lâ âmûkht *hômanîh*,

LXVIII. 11, 4. $H_{18}$ om.; $K_{20}$ . 11, 5. $H_{18}$ *uzdēzâr.* 12, 1. $H_{18}$ *vat* = . 12, 2. D. . 13, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 13, 4. $K_{20}$ adds . 13, 5. $H_6$ om. 13, 9. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ . 14, 5—8. $K_{20}$ ; $H_{18}$ omits 14, 5—7. 15, 2. D. adds . 15, 4—10. $H_{18}$ *avar hamâ tan men thô* = . 15, 7. D. adds . 15, 11. $K_{20}$ adds . 16, 6. $K_{20}$ omits final . 16, 8. D. $K_{20}$ omit . 17, 4. D. ; $H_6$, $K_{20}$ ; $H_{18}$ *dihishni;* P. . 17, 6. $K_{20}$ has for . 18, 1. $H_{18}$ omits . 19, 4. $K_{20}$ . 19, 6. D. . 19, 9. $H_6$ ; $H_{18}$ *ā kash;* $K_{20}$, P. .



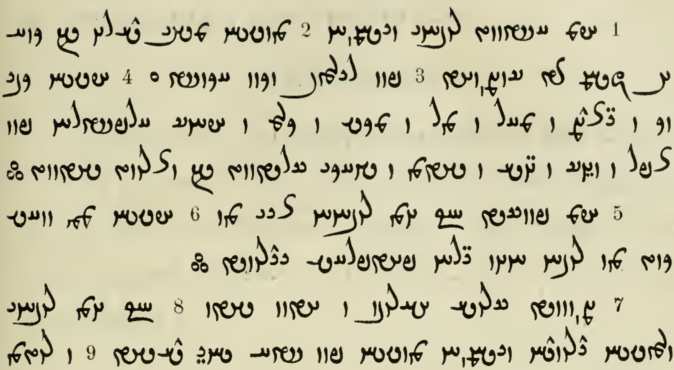
20 mûnam akhar shapîrîh *va* frârûnîh karḍ *hômanih*, 21 *va vad* kevan denman *anûkîh* lâ *avâyêḍ yedrûnḍ.*

22 *Va* akhar, zak gabrâ val vahisht, va zak nêshman val dûshahû, vazlûnḍ. 23 Va zak nêshman, min *zak pashîmânîh*, *yîn dûshahû barâ* târîkîh va *gôndakîh*, *hânŏ* patîyârak lâ yehevûnḍ. 24 Va zak gabrâ, yîn vahisht *mîyân-i yasharûbân*, *min lâ varḍânîḍanŏ va* lâ *âmûzânîḍanŏ-i zak* nêshman, *mûn yîn dârishn aûbash maḍ yehevûnḍ val frârûnîh*, pavan sharm *nishast.*

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LXVIII. 20, 4. K₂₀ om. 20, 7. H₁₈ om.; K₂₀ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 21, 1—2. H₁₈ om. 21, 5. H₁₈ adds *pâdafrâh;* K₂₀ prefixes [Pahlavi]. 21, 7. D. [Pahlavi]. 21, 8. D. has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; H₁₈ *bûdan*, Sans. *karttum.* 22, 1. D. K₂₀ om. 23, 5—9. H₁₈ om. 23, 6. D. [Pahlavi]. 23, 12. H₁₈ adds *añdâ* = [Pahlavi]. 23, 13. or perhaps *akharan*, Chald. אַחֲרָן. 24, 6. K₂₀ adds final [Pahlavi]. 24, 6—7. H₁₈ om. 24, 8. H₆ prefixes [Pahlavi]. 24, 9—11. H₁₈ om. 24, 13. H₁₈ *âmôkhtan-i.* 24, 14. D. H₁₈ om. 24, 16—23. H₁₈ om.; D. omits [Pahlavi]. 24, 26. H₁₈ prefixes *be* — [Pahlavi].

# Chapter LXIX.



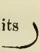
## Chapter LXIX.

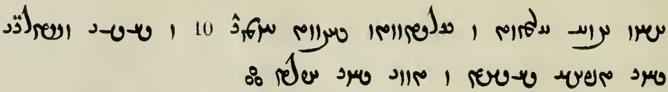
1 Afam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i nêshmanân 2 mûnshân mîkh-i *dârîn* yîn kolâ II chashm zad yekavîmûnâd, 3 *pavan ragelman-I nikûn âkûst.* 4 Afshân kabed *vak va* gazdum va mâr *va* môr *va* makas *va* kirm va avârîk khrafstarân, pavan zafar va vînîk *va* gôsh *va shatman va jînâk-i sarîtûnd* yîn *vazlûnd yâtûnd.*

5 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman *rûbânân zak-i mûn?* 6 *afshân* maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbân *ângûn girân* pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

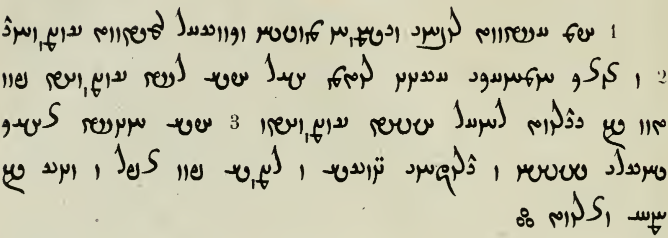
7 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 8 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân darvandân nêshmanân *mûnshân*, *pavan stih*, shûî dâsht, 9 *va levatman*

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LXIX. 1, 2. K₂₀ . 2, 3. K₂₀ adds final . 3, 1—4. H₁₈ *vashā u nigonaa pa pâi âkusht ishtâd.* 3, 2. D. omits . 4, 3—4. H₁₈ and other Pâz. MSS. om. 4, 8. H₆, K₂₀ om. 4, 10, 12, 21. K₂₀ om. 4, 23—27. H₁₈ and other Pâz. MSS. om. 4, 27. D. adds . 4, 29—30. H₁₈ *hamē shud.* 5, 5.—6, 1. K₂₀ . 6, 7. H₆, K₂₀ . 6, 8. D. om. 8, 7—9. H₁₈ *ke* = . 9, 1. only in H₆. 9, 2. D. adds .



## Chapter LXX.



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*hânŏ gabrâ khelmûnḍ va sarîtûntô yehabûnḍ hômand*, 10 *va* gâs-*i* vastarg-i shûî tapâh *dâsht*, *va tanû-i* shûî *âzarḍ*.

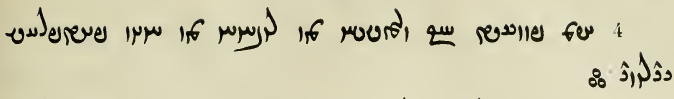
## Chapter LXX.

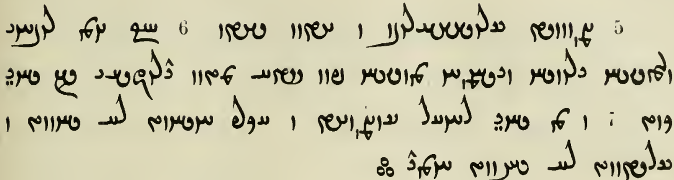
1 Afam khadîtûnḍ *rûbân-i* nêshmanân mûnshân *nikûnsâr ramîtûnḍ yekavîmûnând;* 2 va *zûzak* hûmânâk-i *asînîn* levatman khâr azash rost yekavîmûnâḍ, *pavan tanû yîn yedrûnḍ, lakhvâr hîsht yekavîmûnâtô;* 3 afash angûst *zahâk* shûsar-i shêdâân va drûjân-*i* gôndakîh *va* rîmanîh, pavan zafar va vînîk yîn hamâî vazlûnḍ.

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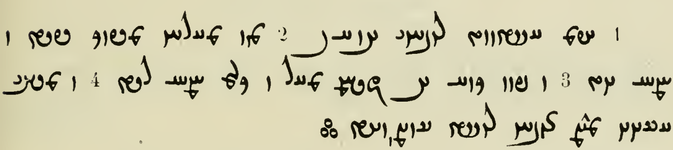
LXIX. 9, 2—5. some Pâz. MSS. om. 9, 6. only in D. $H_6$. 9, 7—9. $H_{18}$ and other Pâz. MSS. om. 9, 7. D. has , and $K_{20}$ , for . 10, 1. D. om. 10, 2. D. has for ; $K_{20}$ omits . 10, 6—8. $K_{20}$ . 10, 10. $H_{18}$ adds *hend* = .

LXX. 1, 3. D. adds . 1, 6. $H_{18}$ *khashtă*, Sans. *uttânâ*. 1, 7. D. has for . 1, 8. D. has for ; $H_{18}$ om. 2, 2. $H_{18}$ Sans. *sîhulaka;* Pers. ژوژ, or ژوژه; see Bund. 48, 1.; Z. *duzhakem*, Vend. XIII. 2, 3, 4. 2, 4. $K_{20}$ . 2, 10—16. $H_{18}$ om. 2, 15. D. . 3, 3. $H_{18}$ Sans. *sthûlam.* 3, 7. only in $H_6$. 3, 9. $K_{20}$ om.





## Chapter LXXI.



4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: *Valmanshân* mûn *rûbânân*, mûn *ângûn* pâḍafrâs yedrûnd?

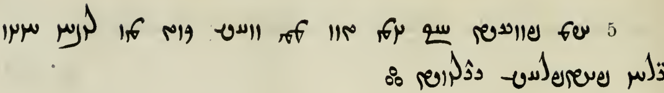
5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân darvandân nêshmanân mûnshân, *pavan stih*, mitrô-*drûjîh-i* yîn shûî karḍ; 7 va min shûî lakhvâr *yekavîmûnâḍ*, va akaraz khûshnûḍ lâ *yehevûnd, va sarîtûnḍ lâ* yehabûnḍ *hômand.*

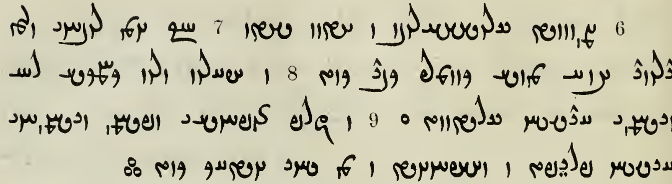
### Chapter LXXI.

1 Afam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn mârân *mîvûk* gazîḍ va hamâî *jalḍ*; 3 va pavan kolâ II chashm *mâr va* kirm hamâî rîḍ; 4 va mîkh-i asînîn *madam* zûbân *rôst* yekavîmûnâḍ.

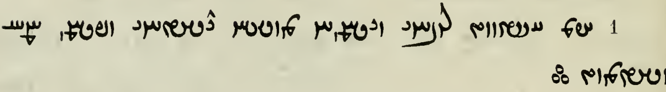
LXX. 4, 4. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 4, 6. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 4, 8. $H_6$ omits final [Pahlavi]. 6, 8—9. $H_{18}$ om.; $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 6, 11. D. omits [Pahlavi]. 7, 5. $H_{18}$ adds *hend* = [Pahlavi]. 7, 10—13, 15. $H_{18}$ and other Pâz. MSS. om.

LXXI. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 2, 3. compare Pers. موك 'a sting'; D. prefixes [Pahlavi]; $H_{18}$ *hamē.* 2, 7. $H_{18}$ *juḍ*, Sans. *khâdanti.* 3, 6—7. $H_{18}$ om. 4, 4. $H_{18}$ *andar* = [Pahlavi].





## Chapter LXXII.



5 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbân ângûn *girân* pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

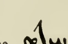
6 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash *kûn-marz* kabed karḍ; 8 va avâıûn *varenô*-kâmakîh râî, nêshman-i khadîhân *sarîtûnḍ.* 9 *Va charp-zûvânîh-i nafshman* nêshmanân-i khadîhân frîft, va *nîyâzânînîḍ*, va min shûî javîḍâk karḍ.

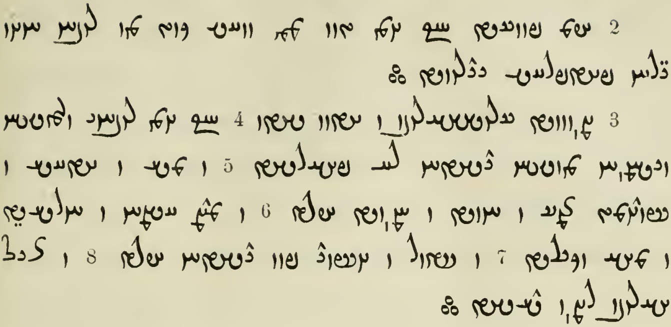
## Chapter LXXII.

1 *Afam khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i nêshmanân mûnshân dashtân-i nafshman hamâî *vashtamûnḍ.*

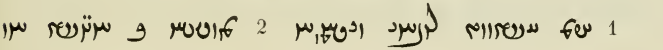
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LXXI. 4, 6. perhaps *randîḍ.* 5, 12. D. om. 7, 8.—9, 4. some Pâz. MSS. om. 8, 3. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit final . 8, 8. $H_{18}$ *vasâdan*, Sans. *vihitam.* 9, 1—4. $H_{18}$ om. 9, 9. so in $H_6$, $K_{20}$, P.; D. ; $H_{18}$ *vîâvânî*, Sans. *vyâmohitâni.*

LXXII. 1, 1. $H_{18}$ *aiginân* = . 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 1, 9. $K_{20}$ .



## Chapter LXXIII.



2 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, *mûn* rûbân ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valmanshân nêshmanân* mûnshân dashtân lâ *pâhrîkht*, 5 *va mayâ* va âtâsh va *Spendarmaḍ zamîk va Horvadaḍ va Amerôdaḍ* âzarḍ, 6 *va* madam âsmân va *khûrshêḍ va mâh* nikîrîḍ; 7 va stôr *va* gôspend pavan dashtân *âzarḍ;* 8 va zakar-*yasharûbŏ* rîmanŏ dâsht.

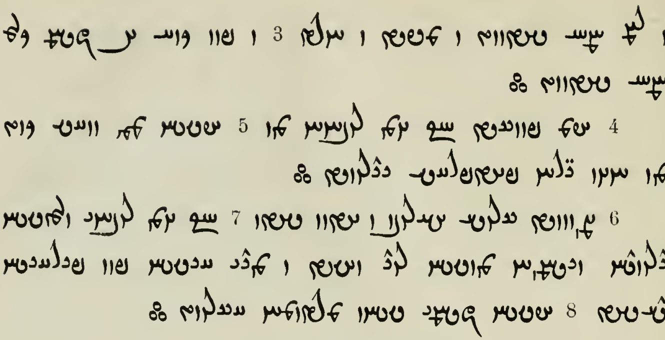
### Chapter LXXIII.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i nêshmanân 2 mûnshân X angûst *khûn*

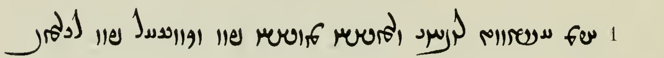
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LXXII. 2, 9. D. 4, 4–5. $K_{20}$. 4, 9. $H_{18}$ *paharēza kard.* 5, 1. $H_{18}$ *keshă.* 5, 2. $H_{18}$ adds *urvar* –. 5, 6. $H_{18}$ om. 5, 7. D. $K_{20}$. 5, 8–11. $H_{18}$ om. 6, 1. $H_{18}$ *kashă;* $K_{20}$ om. 6, 5–7. $H_{18}$ *star mâh qarashēd* =. 7, 3. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ om. 7, 7. $H_{18}$ *âlûd dâsht.* 8, 3. $H_{18}$ adds *pa dashtă* =.

LXXIII. 2, 4. $K_{20}$.



## Chapter LXXIV.



va rîm hamâî *shedûnd*, va *mêzîd* va khûrd; 3 *va* pavan kolâ II chashm *kirm* hamâî *yâtûnd.*

4 Afam *pûrsîd* aîgh: Denman *rûbânân* mûn? 5 *afshân* maman vanâs kard, mûn ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

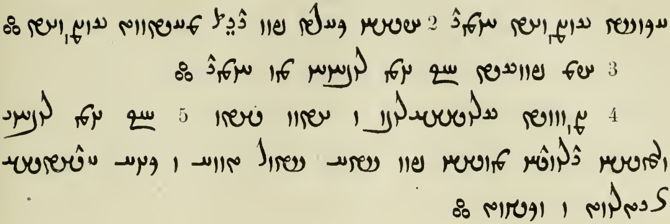
6 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân darvandân nêshmanân mûnshân rôd *vâkht*, va *mûd*-i khadîhân pavan *pîrâyishn* dâsht; 8 *afshân* chashm-i *Yadadânŏ* mardûmân asrûnd.

### Chapter LXXIV.

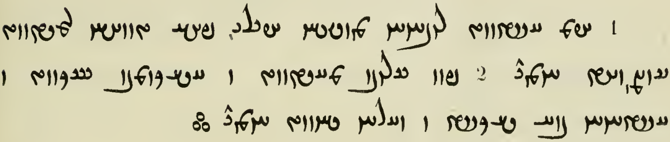
1 Afam khadîtûnd rûbân-i valmanshân mûnshân *pavan nikûnsâr*, *pavan ragelman-I*,

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LXXIII. 2, 8. D. has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; $H_{18}$ *âmad.* 2, 10. Pers. مَیزیدن; $H_{18}$ *hamē musht.* 3, 1. $H_{18}$ *vashă.* 3, 6. $H_{18}$ adds *rîman.* 3, 8. D. has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 4, 2. $K_{20}$ adds final [Pahlavi]. 4, 5. D. has د for final [Pahlavi]. 5, 1. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 7, 9. compare Pers. باخ, پاخ; $H_{18}$ Sans. *utkshiptâni.* 7, 11. elsewhere *mûî.* 7, 14. $H_{18}$ adds *qēsh* = [Pahlavi] د. 8, 1. D. [Pahlavi]. 8, 3 $H_{18}$ *jahă*, Sans. *prithivyâm.*
LXXIV. 1, 6—9. $H_{18}$ *pa pâi nigôna sar.*



## Chapter LXXV.



*âkûst* yekavîmûnâḍ *hômand;* 2 *afshân kârḍ pavan dîl makhîtûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ.*

3 Afam *pûrsîḍ* aîgh: Denman *rûbânân* mûn hômand?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valmanshân* darvandân mûnshân, *pavan stih*, stôr, *tôrâ va kîrâ* adâḍyîsh zektelûnḍ *va neksûnḍ.*

## Chapter LXXV.

1 Afam khadîtûnḍ rûbânân mûnshân azîr-i pâî-i tôrâân ramîtûnḍ *yekavîmûnâḍ* hômand; 2 *pavan* srûbô makhîtûnḍ, va ashkômbŏ sedkûnḍ, *va astukhvân barâ shikast, va nâlân yehevûnḍ hômand.*

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LXXIV. 1, 10. P. . 1, 12. $H_{18}$ om. 2, 1. D. has , and $K_{20}$ , for . 2, 2—6. $H_{18}$ *pa kâreḍ dil andar hamē jaḍ.* 2, 5, 6. D. has for and . 3, 2. D. adds . 3, 5. D. . 5, 4. $H_{18}$ adds *mardumā.* 5, 7—8, 10—12. $H_{18}$ om. 5, 12. D. $H_6$ . 5, 15—16. $H_{18}$ om.

LXXV. 1, 9. D. has for . 2, 1. $H_{18}$ *ka.* 2, 7—14. $H_{18}$ om. 2, 12. Pers. نالان.

3 [Pahlavi]

4 [Pahlavi] 5 [Pahlavi]

6 [Pahlavi]

## Chapter LXXVI.

1 [Pahlavi]

2 [Pahlavi]

3 [Pahlavi]

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3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *marḍûmân* mûn hômand?

4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân darvandân mûnshân, pavan *stih*, stôr va tôrâ-*i* varzâk pûmman asrûnḍ; 6 *afshân* pavan garmîh, mayâ lâ *ychabûnḍ;* va *gûrsak* va tîshnak pavan kâr dâsht.

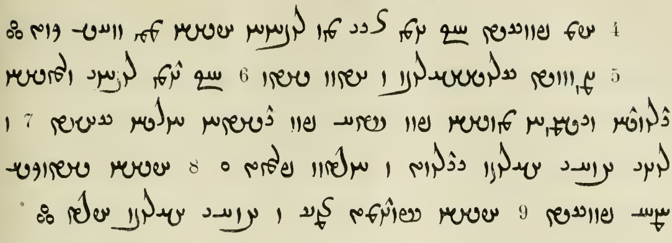
### Chapter LXXVI.

1 Afam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i nêshmanân mûnshân, pavan nafshman *yadman va* nafshman dandân, pêstân-i nafshman hamâî peskûnḍ; 2 va kalbâân *ashkômbŏ* hamâî *sedkûnḍ, va* hamâî vashtamûnḍ; 3 *va* kolâ II *ragelman* madam *rûḍ-i* garm yekavîmûnâḍ.

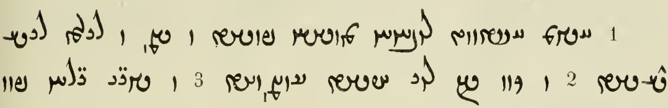
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LXXV. 3, 5. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 5, 8. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 5, 11. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 6, 1. $H_{18}$ om. 6, 6. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 6, 8. all add [Pahlavi].

LXXVI. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 1, 8—9. D. [Pahlavi]; $H_6$ [Pahlavi]; $H_{18}$ *dasht;* $K_0$ [Pahlavi]. 2, 3. D. $H_6$ have [Pahlavi] for final [Pahlavi]. 2, 5. [Pahlavi] in all. 2, 6. 3, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 3, 4. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 3, 6. or *rûî-i;* D. omits [Pahlavi].



## Chapter LXXVII.



4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *zak-i mûn rûbânân? afshân* maman vanâs karḍ?

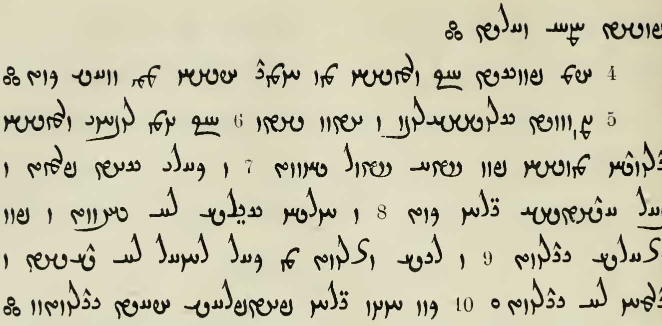
5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân darvandân *nêshmanân* mûnshân, pavan stih, pavan dashtân khûrishn sâkht, 7 va levîn-*i* gabrâ-*i* yasharûbŏ yedhûnḍ, va khûrḍanŏ farmûḍ. 8 Afshân yâtûkîh hamâî pûrsîḍ; 9 afshân Spendarmaḍ *zamîk* va gabrâ-*i* yasharûbŏ âzarḍ.

### Chapter LXXVII.

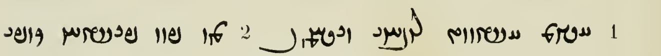
1 Adînam khadîtûnḍ *rûbânân* mûnshân pôsht va yadman va ragelman *rêsh dâsht*, 2 *va kûn yîn rôd âvîkht* yekavîmûnâḍ; 3 va sang-*i* girân pavan

LXXVI. 4, 5—8. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 6, 6. D. om. 7, 2. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 7, 3. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 9, 3. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 9, 5. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible].

LXXVII. 1, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 1, 10. $H_{18}$ Sans. *kûrchcham.* 1, 11. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 1—2. Dest. suggests *nikûn;* $H_{18}$ *nûn.* 2, 3—4. some Pâz. MSS. om. 2, 5. B. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$, P. [illegible]; $H_6$ [illegible]; some Pâz. MSS. *ivasht;* $H_{18}$ Sans. *taptamayaḥ sadaiva;* Dest. suggests [illegible], which is here adopted, but the phrase may also be read: *va kûn* (or *nikûn*) *yîn rû-i avîtakht.* 3, 2. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible].



## Chapter LXXVIII.



pôsht hamâî vârîḍ.

4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Valmanshân *mûn hômand? afshân* maman vanâs karḍ?

5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valmanshân* darvandân mûnshân, pavan stih, stôr yehevûnḍ; 7 va kâr-i sakht farmûḍ, va bâr *adâḍyîsh* girân karḍ; 8 va *khûrishn sîrîh lâ yehabûnḍ, va pavan nizârîh yedrûnḍ;* 9 va rêsh *vazlûnḍ, min* kâr lakhvâr lâ dâsht, va darmân lâ yedrûnḍ. 10 Kevan ângûn girân pâḍafrâs avâyaḍ *yedrûntanŏ.*

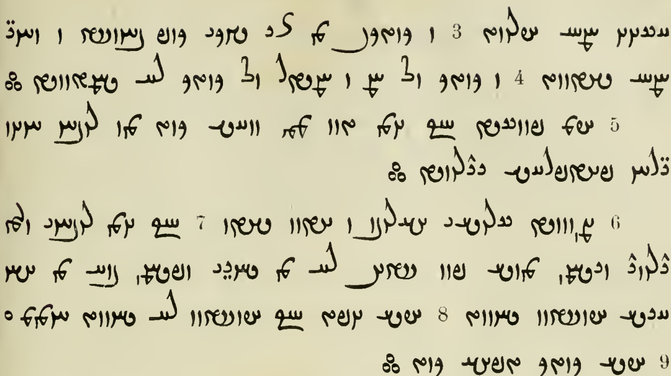
### Chapter LXXVIII.

1 Adînam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i *nêshman-I* 2 mûn, pavan pêstân, *kôf-i*

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LXXVII. 4, 5–7. $K_{20}$ . 6, 4. $H_6$ adds final . 7, 7. $H_{18}$ om. 8, 2. $K_{20}$ adds final . 8, 3. D. ; $H_{18}$ *baḍ* = . 8, 4. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$ om. 8, 5. $K_{20}$ om. 8, 6. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ om. 8, 6–8. $H_{18}$ *vashâ zârî*, Sans. *teshâncha durbalatayâ.* 8, 9. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$ om. 9, 3. $H_{18}$ *bûdan.* 9, 4. $H_{18}$ om.; $K_{20}$ . 10, 6.  in all but $K_{20}$.

LXXVIII. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 1, 4. $H_{18}$ *zanâ.* 2, 4–5. $K_{20}$ .



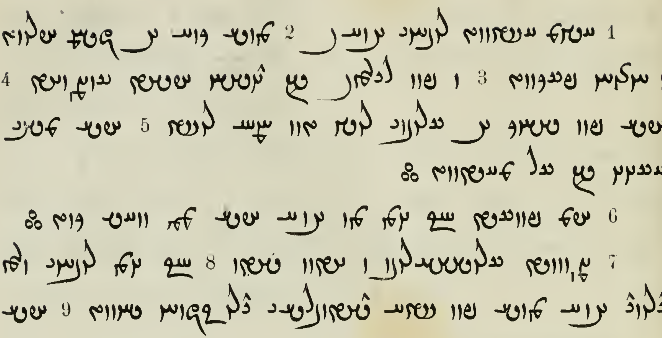
*asînîn* hamâî khefrûnḍ; 3 va kûḍak-I min zak sûk-i kôf bekhûnast, *va* vâng hamâî *yâtûnḍ;* 4 va kûḍak val am, va amîḍar val kûḍak, lâ yâmtûnêḍ.

5 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, *mûn* rûbân ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

6 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-*i* yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: *Denman* rûbân-i *valman darvand nêshman mûnash*, pavan stih, lâ *min* shûî-*i* nafshman, barâ min hân *khadîh*, *âpûstanŏ yehevûnḍ*; 8 *afash* gûft aîgh: *Âpûstanŏ* lâ *yehevûnḍ hômanam.* 9 *Afash kûḍak tapâh karḍ.*

LXXVIII. 3, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 3, 11. or perhaps *sheḍûnḍ.* 5, 9. D. [illegible]. 6, 2. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 7, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 7, 4. D. adds [illegible]; $H_{18}$ adds *shâ* = [illegible]. 7, 5—7. $H_{18}$ adds *û* = [illegible] to each. 7, 11. $K_{20}$ om. 7, 12. D. $K_{20}$ omit [illegible]. 7, 17. $H_{18}$ *marda* = [illegible]. 7, 18. D. omits medial [illegible]. 7, 19. $H_{18}$ adds *hend.* 8, 1. $H_{18}$ *u kashâ kôdak be avagandan*, Sans. *yâshcha apatyâni nipâtya.* 8, 4. D. omits medial [illegible]. 8, 6. $K_{20}$ om. 8, 7. $H_{18}$ *hend.* 9, 1—4. $H_{18}$ om.

## Chapter LXXIX.



## Chapter LXXIX.

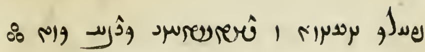
1 Adînam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 *mûnash kolâ II chashm khefrûnḍ*, va hûzvân peskûnḍ; 3 *va* pavan ragelman-*I* yîn dûshahû *âvîkht* yekavîmûnâḍ; 4 *afash* pavan shânak *II srûbô-i rûyîn tanû* hamâî *randîḍ*; 5 *afash* mîkh-*i* asînîn yîn *sar makhîtûnḍ.*

6 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *mûn gabrâ? afash* maman vanâs karḍ?

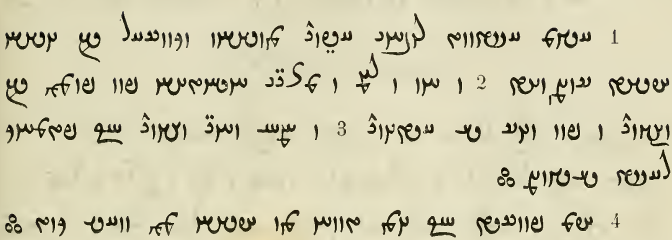
7 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 8 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand gabrâ *mûnash*, *pavan stih*, *dâtôbarîh-i drôgh-zanân* yehevûnḍ; 9 *afash*

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LXXIX. 2, 1–5. $H_{18}$ *ke chashm zaḍ.* 3, 1. only in $K_{20}$. 3, 3. D. omits [illegible]; $H_6$ substitutes [illegible]. 3, 6. $H_{18}$ *âkushta.* 4, 1. $H_{18}$ *u* = [illegible]. 4, 4—7. $H_{18}$ *âhinî sar u tan qēsh;* $K_{20}$ omits [illegible] د. 4, 9. $H_{18}$ *raodiḍ;* $H_6$ adds [illegible]. 5, 1. $H_{18}$ om. 5, 2. $K_{20}$ omits د. 5, 5 so in $H_{18}$, but it may also be read *dîl.* 5, 6. D. has [illegible] for [illegible]; $H_{18}$ adds *ishtâḍ* = [illegible]. 6, 5—7. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 8, 3. $K_{20}$ removes د to 8, 4. 8, 7–11. *drôjan mard ke pa zendigâ dâvar drôjanâ.* 8, 10. $K_{20}$ omits د. 8, 11. P. omits [illegible]; Pers. دروغزن 'a liar'; or perhaps *drôghjôân.* 9, 1. $H_{18}$ *u* = [illegible].



## Chapter LXXX.



pârak yansegûnḍ, va dâḍistân-*i* kadbâ karḍ.

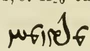
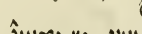
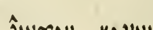
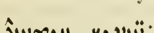
## Chapter LXXX.

1 Adînam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-*i* *aêchand*, *mûnshânŏ* nikûnsâr yîn dûshahû *âvîkht* yekavîmûnâḍ; 2 va khûn va rîm va *mazg-i anshûtâân pavan* pûmman *yîn vâdûnd*, va *pavan vînîk guh aîtyûnd*; 3 va hamâî vâng *vâdûnd* aîgh: Paḍmânak râst *yakhsenunêm.*

4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanûân mûn? *afshân* maman vanâs karḍ?

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LXXIX. 9, 5. $K_{20}$ omits د.

LXXX. 1, 3. $K_{20}$ omits د. 1, 4—5. $H_{18}$ *mardumă ke.* 1, 5. $K_{20}$ omits final ı. 1, 9. $H_{18}$ *âkusht.* 2, 6. $H_{18}$ om.; $H_6$ omits د. 2, 7.  in D. $H_6$; $H_{18}$ om. 2, 8. $H_{18}$ *ezh* = . 2, 10—11, 13. $H_{18}$ om. 2, 14—16. uncertain;  may be کُشه, or دَه 'annoyance', or يخ 'ice', or a miswriting for ; or the words may be ; $H_6$, $K_{20}$ ; D. ; $H_{18}$ *vînî be âêḍ*, Sans. *nâshikebhyashcha sadaiva samâyâti.* 3, 4. $H_{18}$ *dâsht.* 3, 8. $H_{18}$ *dâsht hôm;* $K_{20}$ has  for . 4, 7. $K_{20}$ .

## Chapter LXXXI.

5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-i yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân darvandân mûnshân, *pavan stih*, sang va *kafîz* va avârîk paḍmânak-i kas, *kâstak* dâsht, 7 va val anshûtâân mandavam mazdûnḍ.

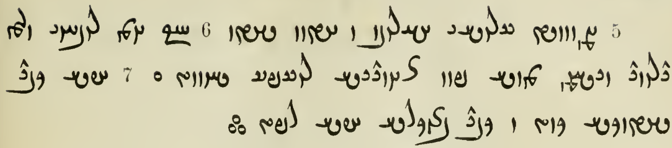
### Chapter LXXXI.

1 *Adînam khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i nêshman-I *mûn* hûzvân *burîḍ*, va chashm *kand*, 2 va mâr va gazdum va kirm va *avârîk* khrafstarân mazg-i sar *hamâî vashtamûnḍ*; 3 *va dânar* dânar tanû-i nafshman pavan dandân vakhdûnḍ, *va* bisrayâ hamâî *jalḍ*.

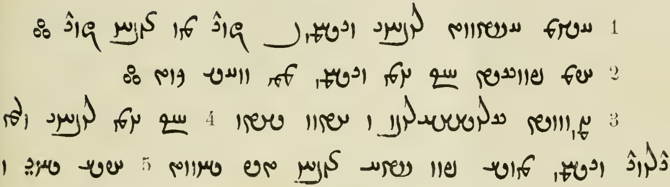
4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ?

LXXX. 6, 7–8. $H_{18}$ om. 6, 11. D. adds . 6, 16. D. omits final .

LXXXI. 1, 1. D. $H_{18}$ . 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 1, 5. $H_{18}$ *kesh* = . 1, 7. D. . 1, 10. $H_{18}$ *dajîḍ eshteḍ*, it also adds *mihē âhinî an̄dar dahā zaḍ* = . 2, 8. $H_{18}$ om. 2, 12. $H_{18}$ *u rûi* = . 2, 13. D. has for . 3, 1. D. om. 3, 2. Z. *danare*, see Vend. XVI. 7. 3, 9. $K_{20}$ om. 3, 12. $H_{18}$ *khurd*, Sans. *khâdati*.



## Chapter LXXXII.



5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-i yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valman* darvand nêshman *mûnash*, *pavan* zîvandakîh, *rûspîk yehevûnḍ.* 7 *Afash kabed* yâtûkîh *karḍ*, *va kabed bazankarîh azash* raft.

### Chapter LXXXII.

1 Adînam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i nêshman-I chand mûn zûbân *chind.*

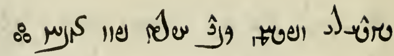
2 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman nêshman maman vanâs karḍ?

3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand nêshman *mûnash*, pavan *stih*, zûbân tîz yehevûnḍ; 5 afash shûî *va*

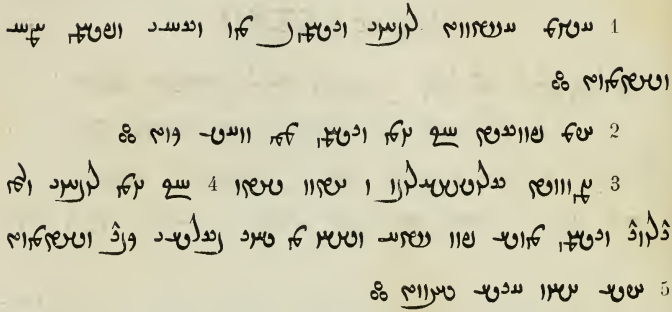
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LXXXI. 6, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 7. $H_{18}$ *ke* = [Pahlavi]. 6, 8. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 6, 10.—7, 2. $H_{18}$ om. 7, 4—6, 8. $H_{18}$ om. 7, 5. $K_{20}$ om. 7, 7. compare Pers. بزن = گزند = [Pahlavi]; it must not be confounded with بزه, which is written [Pahlavi].

LXXXII. 1, 8. so in D. $H_6$, $K_{20}$; $H_{18}$ *hamē khaḍ*, Sans. *sadaiva samutkhanyate;* P. adds [Pahlavi]; perhaps it should be [Pahlavi] or [Pahlavi]; Dest. suggests [Pahlavi]; it may also be compared with Z. *schind.* 4, 3. $K_{20}$ transfers [Pahlavi] to 4, 4. 4, 7. $H_{18}$ *ke* = [Pahlavi]. 4, 9. $H_{18}$ *zendigā* — [Pahlavi]; $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 5, 3. D. om.; $H_6$ [Pahlavi].



## Chapter LXXXIII.



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sardâr-i nafshman *kabed âzard*, pavan zûbân.

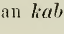
### Chapter LXXXIII.

1 Adînam khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i nêshman-I mûn nasâî-i nafshman hamâî vashtamûnḍ.

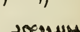
2 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *nêshman* maman vanâs karḍ?

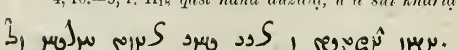
3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman *mânash*, pavan *stih*, *nîhân min shûî*, *bisrayâ-i kabed vashtamûnḍ*; 5 *afash* hânŏ khadîh yehabûnḍ.

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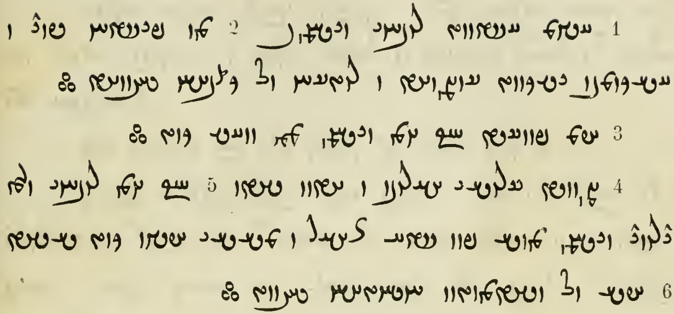
LXXXII. 5, 6. K20 . 5, 7. K20 adds final .

LXXXIII. 2, 5. K20 om. 4, 7. H18 *ke* = . 4, 9. H18 *zendigā* — .

4, 10.—5, 1. H18 *qâst hana duzdîḍ, u ā sûi kharîḍ qarashni u* = 



# Chapter LXXXIV.



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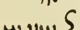
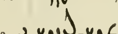
## Chapter LXXXIV.

1 Adînam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i nêshman-*I* 2 mûn *pêstân gazand*, va ashkômbŏ sedkûnd yekavîmûnâd va *rûdîkân* val *kalbâân* yehabûnâd.

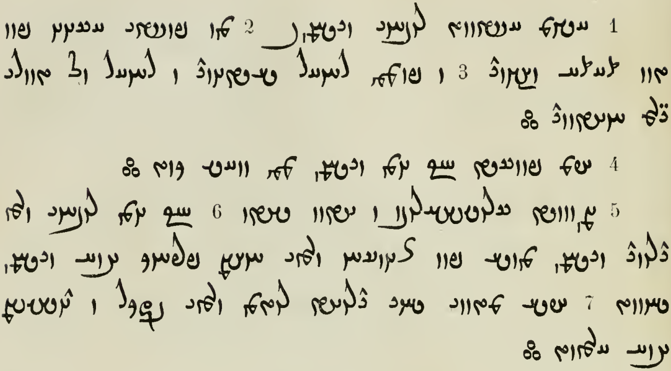
3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman nêshman maman vanâs kard?

4 Yemalelunêd Srôsh-i yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 *aîgh*: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand nêshman *mûnash*, pavan *stih*, zâhar va *mishgâ-i apîyûn kard dâsht*, 6 *afash* val *vashtamûntanŏ* anshûtâân yehabûnd.

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LXXXIV. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 1, 4. D. omits . 2, 2. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ add ; $H_{18}$ *pa ast*. 2, 3. $H_{18}$ *dajend*. 2, 9. D. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ have  for . 2, 11. $K_{20}$ . 5, 1. D. . 5, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 5, 7. $H_{18}$ *ke* = . 5, 9. $H_{18}$ *zendigâ* = . 5, 12. D. ; $K_{20}$ ; $H_6$ has , and $K_6$ , written over ; in the original MS., the gloss , or , was probably so written, and has led to these various readings. 5, 13. ὄπιον in Greek. 5, 12. – 6, 1. $H_{18}$ and other Pâz. MSS. have *rôgan dâsht, u zahar qardan, u rôgan andûdan;* Sans. *tâilancha sammârjitañ nidadhe, vishancha khâditun, tailancha vilepitum.* 6, 3. $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$ om.

# Chapter LXXXV.



## Chapter LXXXV.

1 *Adînam* khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i nêshman-*I* 2 mûn *pôst-i asînîn* pavan tanû lâlâ *vâdûnd*, 3 va *pûmman lakhvâr yâîtyûnd*, va *lakhvâr val tanûr-i* garm *hankhetûnd.*

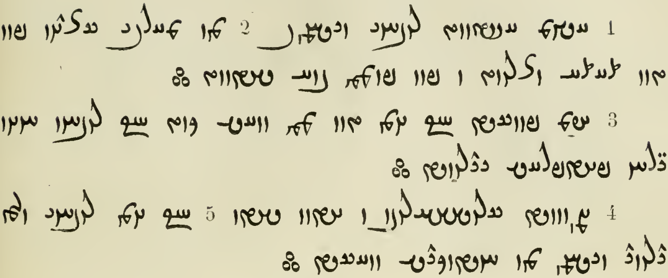
4 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman nêshman maman vanâs karḍ?

5 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman *mûnash*, pavan *zîvandakân*, valman-*i* hû-khîm *farzânak* gabrâ nêshman yehevûnḍ; 7 *afash* mitrô-*i shûî* drûkht, levatman valman-i bazakar va dûsh-khîm gabrâ khelmûnḍ.

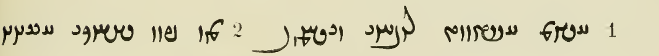
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LXXXV. 1, 1. D. . 1, 4. D. omits . 2, 2. $H_{18}$ *pastē*, Sans. *upasthaḥ.* 2, 3. $K_{20}$ adds final . 2, 7. D. has for . 3, 2—3. $H_{18}$ *pa tan bē* = . 3, 4. D. has for . 3, 6—8. some Pâz. MSS. have *ezh tan avâzh* = . 3, 10. $H_{18}$ *kâmend nihâdan.* 6, 7. $H_{18}$ *ke* = ; D. adds . 6, 9. $H_{18}$ *gēthî* = . 6, 10. only in $H_{18}$; Dest. suggests . 6, 12. D. prefixes . 7, 1. $H_{18}$ *ke.* 7, 2. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit . 7, 3. $H_{18}$ adds *bē* = .

## Chapter LXXXVI.



## Chapter LXXXVII.



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### Chapter LXXXVI.

1 Adînam khadîtûnd rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn *mâr-I-i sazdûn pavan* tanû lâlâ vazlûnd, va pavan pûmman barâ yâtûnd.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard? *aîgh rûbânô* ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

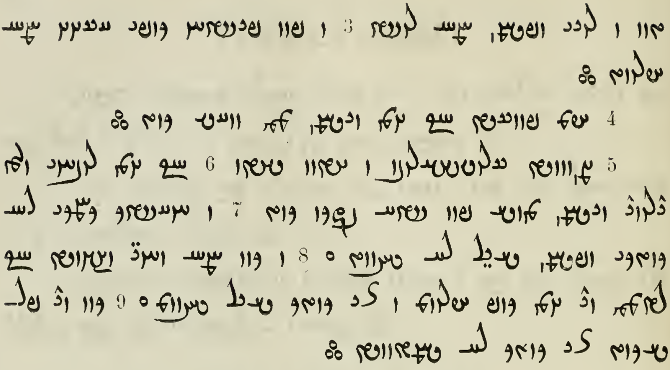
4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: *Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûn khvêtûk-das vinâsîd.*

### Chapter LXXXVII.

1 *Adînam khadîtûnd rûbân-i nêshman-I* 2 *mûn pavan shânak-i asînîn*,

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LXXXVI. 2, 2—3. $H_6$ omits; $H_{18}$ and other Pâz. MSS. omit; B. P.; Dest. suggests. 2, 3. or perhaps *sizdrô*, compare Z. *sîzhdrem*, Vend. XIII. 2. 3, 4. 2, 4. $H_{18}$ and other Pâz. MSS. add *kûn* =. 3, 9. perhaps miswritten for. 3, 10. $K_{20}$ omits final. 5, 2.—LXXXVII. 6, 1. only in $H_{18}$, and restored here from the Pâz., as it seems to supply a necessary connecting link in the narrative. 5, 8—9. Sans. *sḥa,itûadatham puṇyañ nanâsha.*



*tanû va rôd-i nafshman hamâî randîḍ*; 3 *va pavan pêstân, kôf-i asînîn hamâî khefrûnd.*

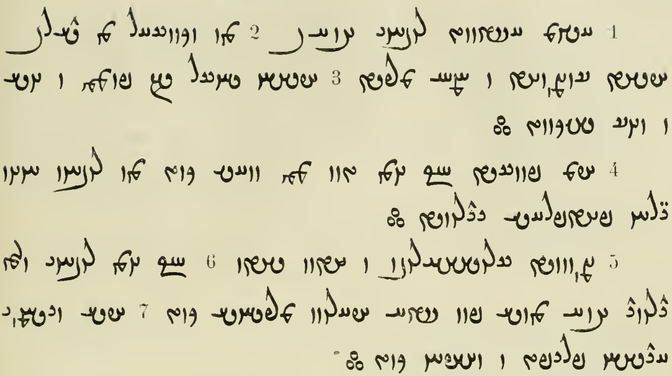
4 *Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh*: *Denman nêshman maman vanâs karḍ?*

5 *Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô,* 6 *aîgh*: Denman rûbân-*i* valman darvand nêshman *mûnash*, pavan *stih*, *bazakŏ karḍ*, 7 *va khvâstak kâmak-i râî*, kûḍak-i nafshman shîr lâ *yehabûnd*. 8 Va kevan hamâî vâng vâdûnêḍ aîgh: *Latamman* vad denman kôf khefrûnam, va *zak kûḍak* shîr *yehabûnam*. 9 *Kevan* vad frashakarḍ *zak kûḍak* lâ *yâmtûnêḍ*.

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LXXXVII. 4, 3—8. supplied by guess, as this sentence is always abbreviated in $H_{18}$. 6, 3. $K_{20}$ removes ... to 6, 4. 6, 7. $H_{18}$ *ke* = ... 6, 9. $H_{18}$ *zendigā* = ... 6, 10—11. $H_{18}$ Sans. *pâpakarmmiṇî sanjâtâ*. 7, 1—4. $H_{18}$ om. 7, 3. $K_{26}$ prefixes ... 7, 9. $K_{20}$ ...; $H_{18}$ adds *sûda qâstârî gēthî râ*. 8, 7. $H_{18}$ Pâz. om., Sans. *pratishṭha*. 8, 13—14. $H_{18}$ *thô* = ...; $K_{20}$ adds ... 8, 16 $H_{18}$ adds *ke pa zendigā nē dâḍ* = ...; $K_{26}$ prefixes ... 9, 1. $H_{18}$ om.; $K_{26}$ prefixes ... 9, 4. $H_{18}$ adds *kôh nē khaniḍ ā* = ... 9, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final ... 9, 7. $H_{18}$ *vîniḍ* = ...

# Chapter LXXXVIII.



## Chapter LXXXVIII.

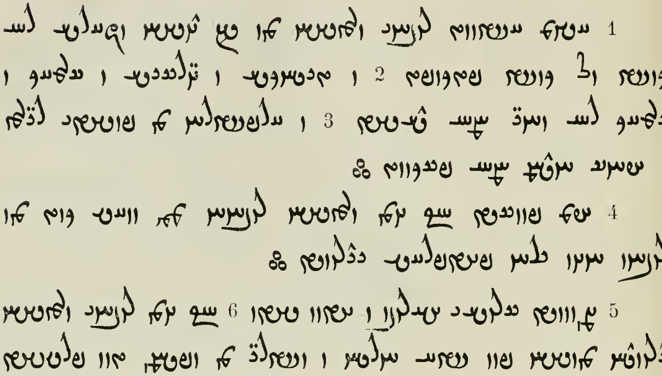
1 Adînam khadîtûnd rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn nikûnsâr min dâr-Î âvîkht *yekavîmûnâd*, va hamâî *marzîd*; 3 afshân shûsar yîn pûmman va gôsh va vînîk *shedkûnd.*

4 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, *mûn rûbânô ângûn* girân pâdafrâs *yedrûnêd?*

5 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand *gabrâ* mûnash, pavan stih, avârûnŏ-marzishnîh kard; 7 afash nêshman-*i* khadîhân *frîft va* nîyâzân kard.

LXXXVIII. 2, 6. D. has for . 2, 9. $H_{18}$ Sans. *mathnanti;* Dest. suggests . 3, 9. D. has for ; $H_{18}$ adds *vash dûd bad bûi ajĕr kûnand* = . 4, 9. D. . 4, 10. $K_{20}$ has for . 4, 11. $K_{20}$ omits final . 4, 14. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 6. $H_{18}$ adds *ke (pa) zendigû ôi zani dashtû sud* = . 7, 2. $K_{20}$ omits . 7, 4. D. has , $H_6$, $K_{26}$ , $K_{20}$ , for . 7, 5. $K_{20}$ om.

# Chapter LXXXIX.



## Chapter LXXXIX.

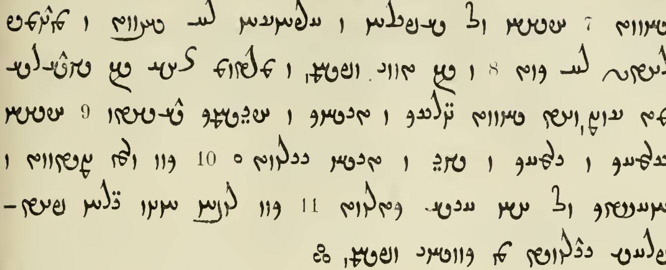
1 Adînam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i valmanshân mûn, yîn dûshahû, vijârish râî kûst val kûst *patkûft;* 2 va tîshnakîh va gûrsakîh *va* sarmâk va garmâk râî vâng hamâî dâsht; 3 va *khrafstarân* min pôsht-*i* ragelman va avârîk andâm hamâî peskûnd.

4 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman *valmanshân rûbânân* maman vanâs *kard, mûn rûbânô ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?*

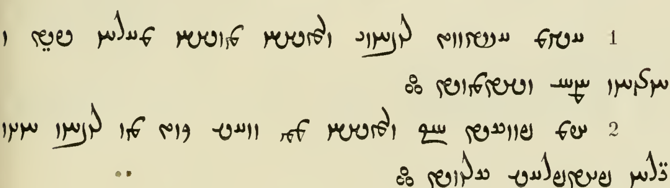
5 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-i yashaıûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valmanshân darvandân* mûnshân, pavan *stih*, khûrishn va vastarg min *nafshman tanû pardâkht*

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LXXXIX. 1, 2. [Pahlavi] in all but $K_{26}$. 1, 13. D. has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 2, 5. $K_{26}$ om. 3, 2. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]. 3, 4. D. has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 4, 5. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 4, 6. D. [Pahlavi]; $K_{20}$ om. 4, 9—15. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 4—5. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 6, 8. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 6, 13—14. [Pahlavi] in all but $K_{20}$. 6, 15. so in D. $H_6$; $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]; $H_{18}$ *paradâst*, Sans. *prabhûtañ kṛitam;* Dest. suggests [Pahlavi].



## Chapter XC.



yehevûnḍ, 7 afshân val shapîrân va arjânîkân lâ yehabûnḍ, va *manda-vamîch* râḍîh lâ karḍ; 8 va yîn tanû-i nafshman, va marḍûm zyash yîn sardârîh maḍ yekavîmûnâḍ yehevûnḍ, gûrsak va tîshnak va avî-jâmak *dâshtô*; 9 afshân sarmâk va garmâk va sûî va tîshn yedrûnḍ. 10 Kevan valman *'yemîtûnḍ, va* khvâstak val hân khadîh ketrûnḍ; 11 kevan rûbân *ângûn* girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ min kûnishn-i nafshman.

### Chapter XC.

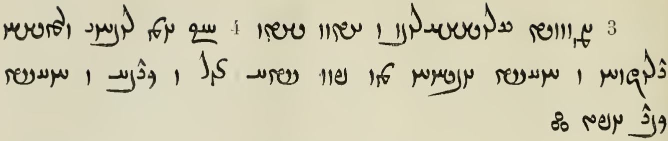
1 Adînam khadîtûnḍ *rûbânô-i* valmanshân mûnshân *mârân* gazêḍ va hûzvânŏ hamâî *vashtamûnêḍ.*

2 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Valmanshân maman vanâs karḍ, mûn *rû-bânô* ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

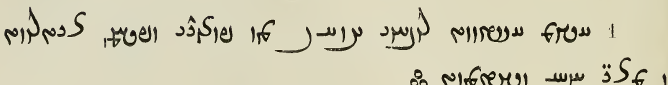
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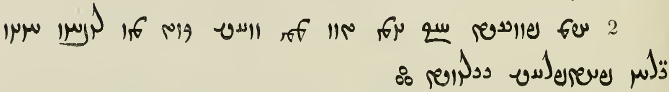
LXXXIX. 7, 9. D. has ٯ for ى. 8, 18. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ separate the final ا taking it as a conj. 10, 3—4. $K_{20}$ om. 11, 3. D. ڪد; $K_{20}$ د.

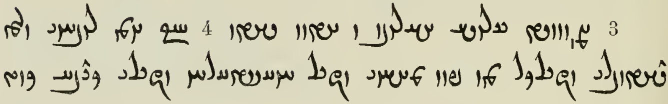
XC. 1, 3. $H_6$ omits د; $K_{20}$ omits دا. 1, 6, 11. so in all. 2, 9. $K_{20}$ omits final ا.



## Chapter XCI.







3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valmanshân drôzanân* va anâst-gûbishnân mûn, pavan stih, zûr *va* kadbâ va anâst kabed *gûft*.

## Chapter XCI.

1 *Adînam khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-*i* gabrâ-I *mûn* farzand-i nafshman *zektelûnḍ*, va mazg hamâî *vashtamûnḍ*.

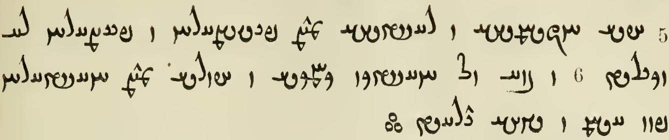
2 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn *rûbânô* ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valman* dâtôbar-i vajîrkar mûn, pavan mîyân-i vajîr-khvâstârân, vajîr-i kadbâ karḍ;

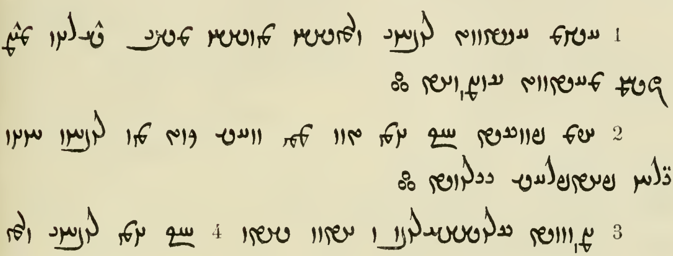
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XC. 4, 4. D. adds [illegible], and $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 4, 5. compare Pers. دروغزن; or perhaps *drôjôân;* D. omits [illegible]. 4, 13. $K_{20}$ om. 4, 18. $H_{18}$ *kard.*

XCI. 1, 1—2. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 1, 3. $H_6$ omits [illegible]; $K_{20}$ adds [illegible]. 1, 5. D. adds [illegible]. 1, 8, 12. D. has [illegible] for [illegible]. 2, 10. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 4, 4. D. [illegible].



## Chapter XCII.



5 afash hû-chashmyîsh va râstyîsh madam *pêshîmârân* va pasîmârân lâ *nikîrîḍ*, 6 va 'barâ val *khvâstakŏ*-kâmakîh va âzûrîh madam khvâstârân *pavan kheshm va sangîh* drâîḍ.

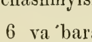
## Chapter XCII.

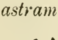
1 Adînam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i valmanshân *mûnshân* mîkh-*i* dârînŏ madam chashm *makhîtûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ*.

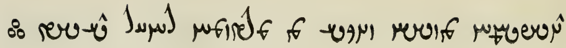
2 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbânô ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 *aîgh*: Denman *rûbân-i valman*

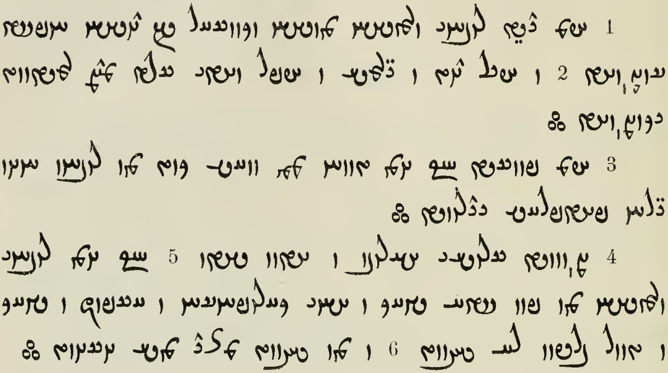
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XCI. 5, 6. D. . 5, 10. D. omits . 6, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final . 6, 10. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 11. often written . 6, 12. D. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 13. $H_{18}$ *snih*, Sans. *shastram;* Dest. reads *khashmgînîâ* for 6, 11—13.

XCII. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 1, 5. D. ; $H_6$ om. 1, 6. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit . 1, 10—11. D. has  for  and . 4, 1. D. . 4, 3. $K_{20}$ . 4, 4. D. adds .



## Chapter XCIII.



dûsh-chashmân *mûnshân* nadûkîh min marḍûmân lakhvâr dâsht.

## Chapter XCIII.

1 Afam dîḍ rûbân-i valmanshân *mûnshân* nikûnsâr, yîn dûshahû, aûpast yekavîmûnâḍ; 2 *va* azîr dûḍ va garmîh, va azvar vâḍ-i sarḍ, madam ramîtûnḍ *yekavîmûnâḍ.*

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *tanûân* maman vanâs karḍ, mûn *rûbânô* ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

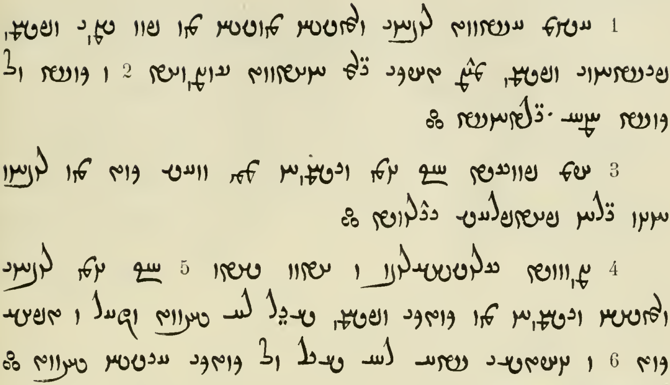
4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-i yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân *mûn,* pavan *stih,* jînâk va khân-*i* kârûvânîkân, *va* aspanj va jînâk va tanûr barîjanô lâ yehabûnḍ; 6 *va* mûn *yehabûnḍ* mozd *minash* yansegûnḍ.

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XCII. 4, 6. $K_{20}$ adds

XCIII. 1, 5. $K_{20}$ adds . 2, 1. D. om. 2, 12. $H_{18}$ om. 3, 5. D. $K_{20}$ . 3, 10. $K_{20}$ omits final . 5, 5. $K_{20}$ . 5, 7. $K_{20}$ . 5, 10. $K_{20}$ omits . 5, 12. $K_{20}$ . 6, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 6, 3. $K_{20}$ . 6, 5. in all but $K_{20}$.

# Chapter XCIV.



## Chapter XCIV.

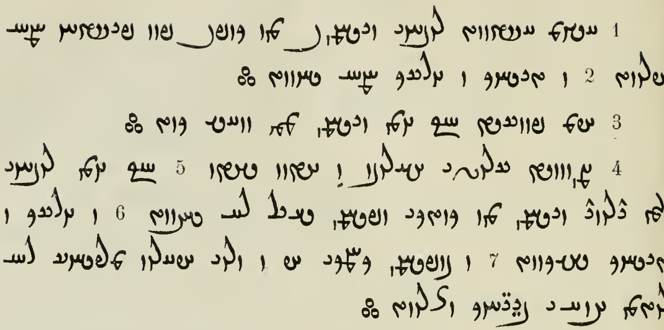
1 Adînam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i *valmanshân mûnshân mûn* pavan yadman-i nafshman, pêstânô-i nafshman madam tâvak-*i* garm hankhetûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ, 2 *va kûst val kûst hamâî garḍânast.*

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *nêshmanân* maman vanâs karḍ, mûn rûbânô ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

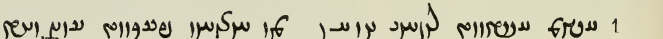
4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân nêshmanân mûn kûḍak-i nafshman shîr lâ yehabûnḍ, nizâr va tapâh karḍ; 6 va *gûâftîh-i* stih râî, shîr val kûḍak-i khadîhân yehabûnḍ.

XCIV. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 1, 4. some Pâz. MSS. have *zanû;* Sans. *durgatimatâm.* 1, 5—6. so in all; Sans. *yaiḥ yat tat.* 1, 13. all omit [illegible]. 2, 1—6. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 1—4. D. [illegible]. 3, 5. $K_{20}$ تَن = [illegible]. 6, 2. D. $H_6$, $H_{18}$, $K_{20}$ [illegible]; P. [illegible]; Z. *vi* + *ap.*

## Chapter XCV.



## Chapter XCVI.



### Chapter XCV.

1 Adînam khadîtûnd rûbân-i nêshman-I mûn *kôf-I* pavan pêstân hamâî khefrûnd, 2 va tîshnak va gûrsak hamâî yehevûnd.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman *nêshman* maman vanâs kard?

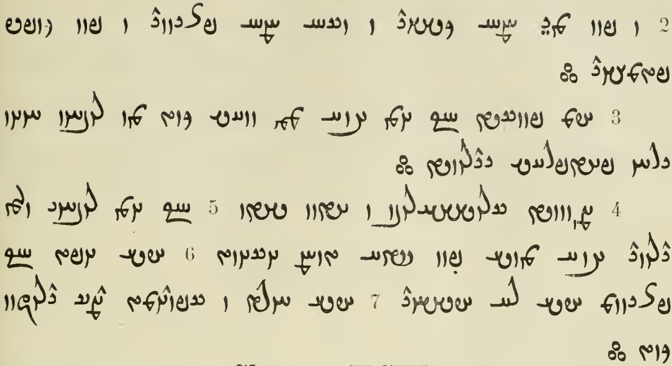
4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-i yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i valman* darvand nêshman mûn kûdak-*i* nafshman shîr lâ yehabûnd, 6 *va* gûrsak va tîshnak shedkûnd; 7 va *benafshman kâmak-i âz va varen-i avârûn*-marzishnîk râî, levatman gabrâ-i bîgânak vazlûnd.

### Chapter XCVI.

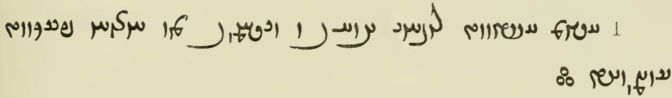
1 Adînam *khadîtûnd* rûbân-i gabrâ-I mûn *hûzvânŏ* peskûnd yekavîmûnâd,

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XCV. 1, 6. D. omits ; $H_{18}$ *karafē*, Sans. *kalevaram*. 3, 5. $K_{20}$ . 5, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 5, 4. D. adds ; $K_{20}$ . 5, 8. $K_{20}$ omits . 6, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 7, 2. D. omits . 7, 3—6. D. . 7, 7. $K_{20}$ adds final .
XCVI. 1, 2. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ . 1, 6. $K_{20}$ omits final .



## Chapter XCVII.



2 va pavan mûî hamâî kashênd, *va* nasâî hamâî *pezkûnd*, va pavan kôfîz paḍmâyend.

3 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman *gabrâ* maman vanâs karḍ, mûn *rûbânô* ângûn girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

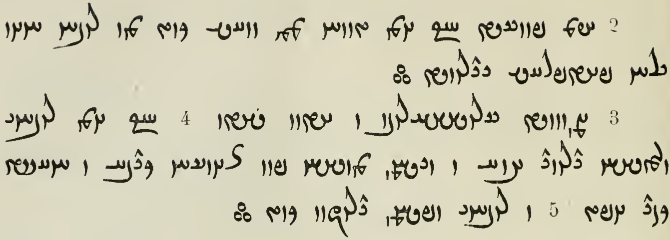
4 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stih, tôkhm yansegûnḍ, 6 afash gûft aîgh: *Pezkûnam;* afash lâ afshând; 7 afash khûrḍ, *va* Spendarmaḍ damîk *drôzanŏ karḍ.*

## Chapter XCVII.

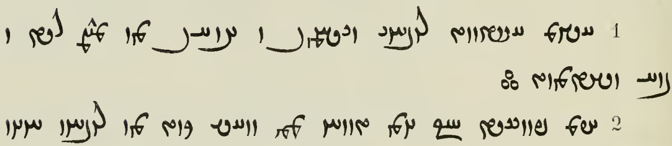
1 Adînam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i gabrâ-I va nêshman-I mûn hûzvân peskûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ.

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XCVI. 2, 6. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 9. $H_{18}$ *brînid*, Sans. *chhinatti*; compare Chald. בְּזַק.
3, 5. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 3, 10. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 6, 4. $H_{18}$ *brînam*, Sans. *uptam.*
7, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 7, 6. D. [illegible]; $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 7, 7. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible].
XCVII. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ [illegible].



## Chapter XCVIII.



2 *Afam* pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanûân maman vanâs karḍ, *mûn rûbân ângûn* girân pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i *valmanshân darvand* gabrâ va nêshman mûnshân, pavan zîvandakân, *kadbâ* va *anâst* kabed gûft; 5 va rûbân-i *nafshman drôzanŏ karḍ.*

### Chapter XCVIII.

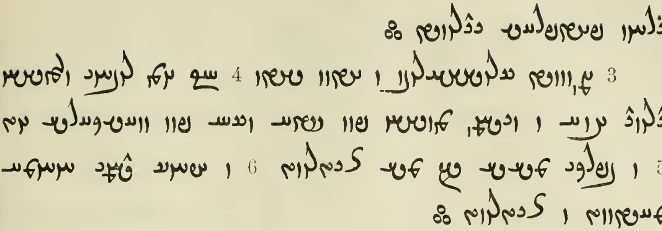
1 Adînam *khadîtûnḍ* rûbân-i nêshman-I *va gabrâ-I* mûn madam *rîḍ va* barâ *vashtamûnḍ.*

2 Afam pûrsîḍ aîgh: Denman tanûân maman vanâs *karḍ, mûn rûbânô ângûn*

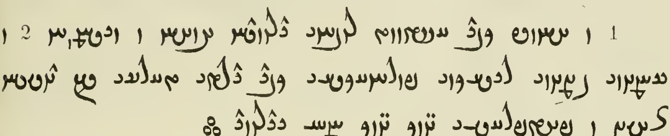
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XCVII. 2, 1. $K_{20}$ prefixes . 2, 9. D. . 2, 10. $H_6$ adds . 2, 11. $K_{20}$ omits final . 4, 4. $K_{20}$ . 4, 5. D. ; $K_{20}$ om. 4, 12. $H_{18}$ *zur.* 4, 14. D. . 5, 3. $H_{18}$ om. 5, 4. $H_6$ . 5, 5. $K_{20}$ .

XCVIII. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ . 1, 5—6. $H_{18}$ om. 1, 9. $H_{18}$ *sar rēsiḍ,* Sans. *shirasaḥ chhinatti.* 1, 10. $K_{20}$ om. 1, 12. D. has for . 2, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final . 2, 9. D. . 2, 10. $K_{20}$ has for . 2, 11. $H_6$ omits final .



## Chapter XCIX.



*girânŏ* pâḍafrâs yedrûnêḍ?

3 Yemalelûnêḍ Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Atarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i valmanshân* darvand *gabrâ va* nêshman *mûnshân*, pavan *stih*, *nasâî pavan vanâskârîh jalḍ; 5 va bavrak-i mayâîh yîn mayâ zektelûnḍ, 6 va avârîk dâm-i Aûharmazd makhîtûnḍ va zektelûnḍ.*

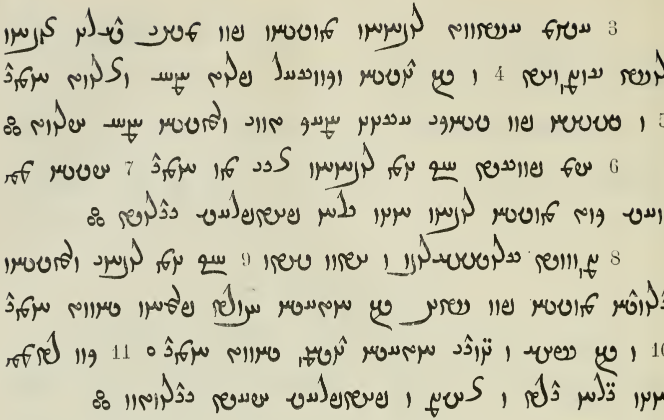
### Chapter XCIX.

1 *Va hâvandich* kabed khadîtûnḍ rûbân-i darvandân gabrâân va nêshmanân; 2 *va* sahmgûn-i *bîmgûn*-i rêshkun-i pûr-anâkîh-i kabed-darḍ-i târîk-i yîn dûshahû zâkham va pâḍafrâs-*i* gûnak gûnak hamâî yedrûnd.

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XCVIII. 2, 12. $K_{20}$ omits final . 4, 3. $K_{20}$ omits . 4, 4. $H_{18}$ *ôi* = . 4, 6—7. $H_{18}$ om. 4, 9. $H_{18}$ *ke* = . 4, 11. $H_{18}$ *zendigă* = ; $K_{20}$ . 4, 12. $K_{20}$ . 4, 12.—6, 7. $H_{18}$ *rvă vas rēkhta*, Sans. *mukhatvacham prachurataram uchchikshepa.* 5, 2. only in $K_{20}$. 6, 3. $K_{20}$ omits .

XCIX. 1, 1—2. $H_{18}$ om. 2, 1. D. . 2, 3. $K_{20}$ has for . 2, 13. D. omits .



3 *Adînam khadîtûnd rûbânânŏ mûnshânŏ* pavan mîkh-*i* dârîn *zûbânŏ randîd* yekavîmûnâd; 4 va yîn *dûshahû* nikûnsâr frôd hamâî vazlûnd hômand; 5 va shêdâân pavan shânak-*i* asînîn *hamâk* tanû-i valmanshân hamâî *khefrûnd*.

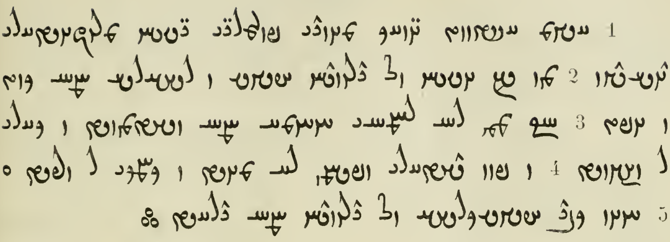
6 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman *rûbânânŏ zak-i mûn hômand?* 7 *afshân* maman vanâs kard, *mûnshân rûbânô ângûn* girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

8 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, va Âtarô yêdatô, 9 aîgh: Denman rûbân-*i valmanshânŏ* darvandân mûnshân, pavan stih, yîn khûdâyân abûrd-farmânŏ yehevûnd hômand; 10 *va yîn sipâh va gûrd-i khûdâyân dûshman yehevûnd hômand.* 11 Kevan latamman ângûn girân *dard va* zâkham va pâdafrâs avâyad yedrûntanŏ.

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XCIX. 3, 1. D. $H_{18}$ [Pahlavi]. 3, 2. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 3, 3. D. has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 3, 3, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final [Pahlavi]. 3, 6. [Pahlavi] only in D. 3, 8. $K_{20}$ omits final [Pahlavi]. 3, 9. $H_{18}$ *rust*, Sans. *nikshiptâh.* 4, 3. D. $H_6$ add final [Pahlavi]. 5, 4. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 5, 6. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 5, 10. D. has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; $K_{20}$ adds final [Pahlavi]. 6, 5. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 6, 6.—7, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 7, 5—7. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 9, 3. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 9, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final [Pahlavi]. 10, 1—9. $H_{18}$ om. 10, 4. only in $K_{20}$. 11, 5—6. $K_{20}$ om.

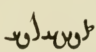
## Chapter C.



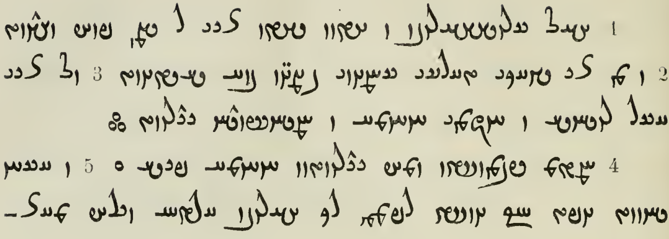
## Chapter C.

1 Adînam khadîtûnd Ganrâk-mînavad-i pûr-marg-i gêhân-maren-chînîdâr-i dûsh-dînô, 2 *mûn* yîn dûshahû val darvandân afsôs va *resh-kharish* hamâî kard, va *gûft* 3 aîgh: Maman râî *lakhmayâ-i* Aûharmazd hamâî vashtamûnêd, *va* kâr-*i* li vâdûnêd? 4 *va pavan* dâdâr-*i* nafshman lâ *mînêd*, va kâmak-*i* li varzêd? 5 Ângûn kabed afsôskar-yîsh val darvandân hamâî *drâîd.*

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C. 2, 1. D. . 2, 8. D. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ ; $H_{18}$ *riârî*, Sans. *upahâsyam*; Pers. رِش or ریش 'beard' + خرِش or خریش 'a butt'; compare ریش خندهٔ, خندی and خریش خنده. 2, 12. $K_{20}$ adds final ı. 3, 4. or *lakhmâk-i*; $K_{20}$ ورسرد. 3, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 3, 9. 4, 3. $K_{20}$ omits د. 4, 1—2. $H_{18}$ *farmâ men kard, chûn tâ,* Sans. *âdesho madîyo vihitaḥ, yat yushmâbhiḥ.* 4, 6. $H_{18}$ *kunashni.* 4, 8. D. $K_{20}$ omit د. 5, 7. $H_{18}$ adds *în pâdadihishni andâ rishtâkhêza, ezh â qêsh kunashni, arâmishnihâ pidîriḍ; ke men parastaḍ ash pâdadihishni dôzhakha; azh pas suḍ hôm men Âdar yazda; vaêm dîda* [one line partly cut off by the binder] *tumîtum dôz-hakha; vaêm avâ sîhast, chûn châhê ke suḍ hazâr nêzhaa. Vaêm târîkî avâ sîhast, ku agar hamâ hêjam khuska andar gêhâ avar u âtash nihâḍ, andar â tumîtum dôzhakha chand mustê rôshanî nê bahôḍ.* — Sans. *tadi-dânîm pâyam enam prasâdadânañ yâvat shavotthânañ, tasmâtsvîyât karm-maṇaḥ, nirânandatayâ pratikurute; yo mâm ârâdhayati tasya prasâdo narakam; pashchât prachalito 'ham Âdareṇa îajdena. Ahañ dadarsha*

## Chapter CI.



## Chapter CI.

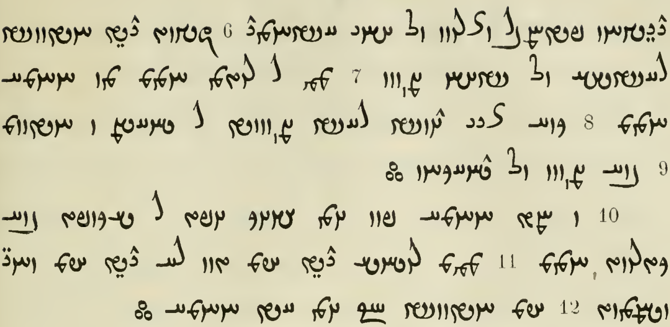
1 *Akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbŏ va Âtarô yêdatô, zak-i li yadman frâz vakhdûnḍ,* 2 *va min zak jînâk-i târîk-i sahmgûn-i bîmgûn barâ yâîtyûnḍ,* 3 *val zak-i asar rôshanîh, va hanjaman-i Aûharmazd va ameshôspendân yedrûnḍ.*

4 *Amatam yezbemûnastŏ namâz yedrûntanŏ Aûharmazd pêsh.* 5 *Va âsân yehevûnḍ, gûft aîgh:* Drûst *lipamman* lak, yasharûbŏ *Arḍâî* Vîrâf, Mâz-

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*tat yat uktamasti ghorândhakârât narakât; mama evam pratibhâti, yathâ kila kûpako yo lakshaikakuntanimnaḥ. Mama andhakârashcha evam pratibhâti, yadi sarvâṇi kâshṭhâni shushkâṇi antaḥ prithivyâm upari vahnau prakshiptâni, antaḥ ghorândhakâranarakasya kiyanmâtra udyotam ujvalañ na bhavati.*

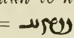
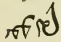
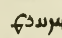
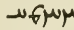
CI. 1, 1.—5, 5. $H_{18}$ *Pasa Âdar yazda asra rôshan bē nîḍ, frâzh ô pēsh* *dâsht hôm. Namâzh burd, gufta* *bagha:*— Sans. *Pashchât Âdar îajdo anantarochishi praṇîto 'ham, prakrishṭam puraḥ Ahuramajdasya svâmino nidadhe. Praṇâmañ chakâra, uvâcha Ahuramajdo dâtâ.* 2, 5, 6. D. omits . 2, 7. $H_6$ adds . 2, 9. D. has for . 3, 4. D. has for . 4, 2. $K_{20}$ omits final . 4, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final . 4, 6.—5, 2. P. . 5, 7. $H_{18}$ *dil* = ; P. . 5, 10. D. has for .

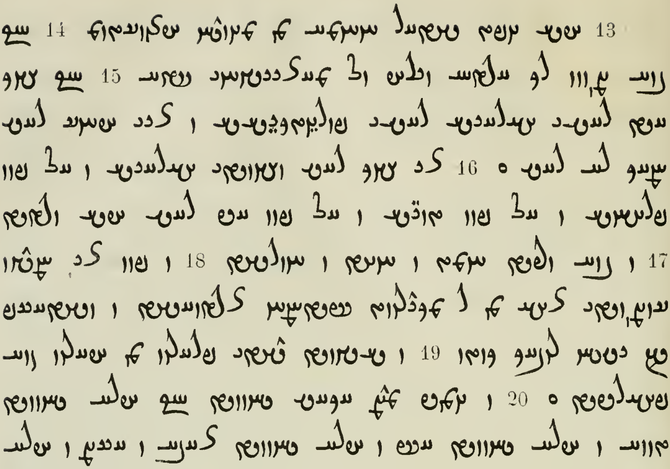


dayasnânŏ pêtkhambar; *vazlûnŏ val ahû-i ast-hômand*; 6 *chîgûnat* dîḍ khavîtûnast, râstyîsh val *stihân* yemalelûn; 7 *maman li levatman hômanam, mûn Aûharmazd hômanam*; 8 *kolâ zak-i drûst râst yemalelûnêḍ* li *shinâsam va khavîtûnam*, 9 *barâ yemalelûn val dânâkânŏ.*

10 *Va amat Aûharmazd pavan denman khadûînak gûft, li shikûft barâ ketrûnḍ hômanam;* 11 *mamanam rôshanîh dîḍ, afam tanû lâ dîḍ; afam vâng vashammûnḍ*, 12 *afam khavîtûnast aîgh: Denman aît Aûharmazd.*

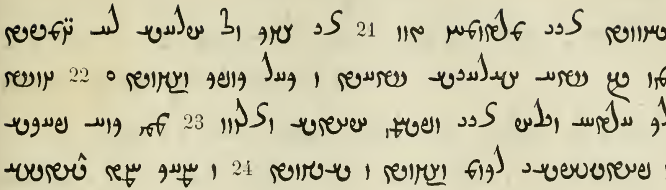
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CI. 5, 14—17. $H_{18}$ *chirâ âmaḍ haê? ai hangâm âmadan thô nē maḍ istaḍ.* — Sans. *kimarthamâyâto 'si? yataḥ sa yaḥ samâgantuñ te na samprâpto 'si.* 6, 1. $H_{18}$ *chûnash* = . 6, 6. $H_{18}$ *gēthî* = . 7, 1.—8, 5. $H_{18}$ *ke* [one line partly cut off by the binder] *durast râst gôiḍ;* Sans. *yat Hormmijdo bhavâmi sarveshâm paṭutayâ sundaratayâ satyatayâ brûhi.* 7, 3. B. ; P. . 8, 2.  only in $H_6$. 8, 7. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ . 8, 7.—13, 4. $H_{18}$ *Ardâ Vîrâ sakhun ôi âsnûḍ, tan dîdan na tûâ bûḍ, rôshanash dîḍ; pa zânû andar namâza burd hôm, gufta hôm ku: Mâzdayasnā gudûraḍ hôm ku: Shao pēsh Ardâ Zaratust, ku kerba ēmâ pa zendigā kunûn, nē dânûm ku hast ayâo nē. Pas guft râst*  *bagh;* — Sans. *Ardâ Vîrâya vachastatra shushrâva, vapushcha vilokituñ na shakto babhûva, tejonidhiñ drishṭañ, tanu na drishṭañ; jânubhyâm antaḥ vinamat praṇâmañ chakre 'ham, avochacha: Mâjdaîasnaiḥ prahito 'ham: Yâhi puraḥ balavato Jarathustrasya, kila puṇyañ yat vayañ jîvitâvasthâyâḥ kurmmahe, no jânîmaḥ asti, kiñvâ nahi. Pashchât uvâcha satya Ahuramajdo dâtâ.* 10, 1. D. om. 10, 6. D. has  for . 11, 1. $K_{20}$ . 12, 4. D. om.



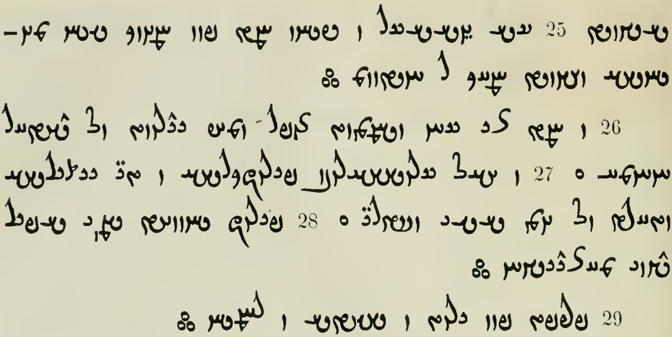
13 *Afash gûft dâḍâr Aûharmazd*, min mînavadân *afzûnîktûm*, 14 *aîgh*: Barâ *yemalelûn* lak, *Arḍâî* Vîrâf, val Mâzdayasnân-i *stîh*, 15 aîgh: Khadûk aît râs-*i* yasharâîsh, râs-*i* pôryô-ḍkêshîh; va zak-*i* avârîk râs, hamâk lâ râs. 16 Zak khadûk râs vakhdûnêḍ-i yasharâîsh; va al pavan *farâkhûîh*, va al pavan tangîh, va al pavan hîch râs azash varḍêḍ; 17 va barâ varzêḍ hûmat va hûkht va hûvarsht; 18 va pavan zak ham-dînô yekavîmûnêḍ-i zyash min li mekadlûnḍ, Spîtâmân Zaratûhasht va Vishtâsp yîn gêhân rûbâk kartô; 19 *va* yakhsenunêḍ dâḍ-i *frârûn*, min *avârûn* barâ pâhrêjêḍ. 20 Va denmanîch madam âkâs yehevûnêḍ, *aîgh*: afrâ *yehevûnêḍ* tôrâ, va afrâ yehevûnêḍ asp, va afrâ yehevûnêḍ *zahabâ* va asîm, va afrâ

CI. 13, 7. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 14, 1. $H_{18}$ om. 14, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 14, 5. D. $K_{20}$ have [illegible] for [illegible]. 14, 9. $H_{18}$ prefixes *pa* = [illegible]; $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 15, 4. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 15, 6. $K_{20}$ prefixes [illegible], and omits [illegible]. 15, 9. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 16, 9. Pers. فراخی; $H_{18}$ *barahânash*, Pers. برهان. 19, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 19, 4. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 19, 6. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ add [illegible]; $K_{20}$ adds [illegible]. 20, 6. $H_{19}$ om. 20, 8. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 20, 17. D. [illegible].



yehevûnêḏ zak-*i* marḏûmân tanû; 21 zak khadûk val *afrâyâ* lâ gûmêjêḏ mûn, yîn stih, yasharâîsh *stâyaḏ*, va *kâr* kirfak vâdûnêḏ. 22 Drûst lak *Arḏâî* Vîrâf! zak-*i* nafshman âvâdîh *vazlûnŏ;* 23 maman kolâ pâkîh va *pâḏîyâvîh-i* lekûm vâdûnêḏ va yakhsenunêḏ, 24 va hamâk amat dâḏyîsh

CI. 20, 23. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 21, 4. or *afrâîh.* 21, 11. $H_{18}$ adds: *Pas gufta* [illegible] *Srôsh ashô, Âdar yazda, kush nmâiḏ ă hvaresht varzîdâră kunashni. Dasht gerefta hôm Srôsh ashô, Âdar yazda; faravă bûḏ hend andar u sar Chinvaḏ puhal, ku ânô Rasna râst, u Mihir yazd, u Âstâḏ yazda pĕrôzagar spihir khudhâi, hamôîn nishastand; avadatar vĕsh dihishni, vĕsh râzihâtar ezh âsmă; pĕsh ĕshă nîḏ hôm. Vasă gufta ku: Gô u ănô kard hâḏ, mardum, gâvă, gôspendă, zamî, urvar, âtash, âva, râst gô, chi azh ĕdar pa râstî bĕ shâyaḏ vadardan. Pas râmeshnî bûḏ hôm, chi fravash ashôid grâî dâḏ ku: Oi bazh nĕ kard. Pash* [illegible] *guft bagh:* — Sans. *atharâ puṇyâtmanâm uttamânâñ kinchit dadâti. Paschâduvâcha Hormmijdo dâtâ Shrosham puṇyâtmakam, Âdarancha îajdam, prati yat: Darshayata asya tâñ yâñ sukṛitakartṛîṇâñ karmmaṇâm. Haste dadhâra mâñ Sroshaḥ puṇyâtmakaḥ, Âdarashcha îajdaḥ; sahâyinau babhûvatuḥ antash-Chandorapuhalecha setau, yat yatra Rasnaḥ satyaḥ, Mihirashcha îajdo maitrîlakshaṇaḥ, Âstâda îajdo vijayî chakrâdhipatishcha, sarve upavishṭâḥ santi; gurutarâḥ prachuratarâḥ ye apisṛishṭeḥ, adhikatejasvitarâshcha âkâshâdapi; purasteshâm praṇîto 'ham. Techa avochat yat: Brûhi tat yat tatra samâcharitamasti, manushyeshu, goshu, pashushu, pṛithvîvanaspativahnijaleshu, satyameva prabrûhi, yataḥ etasmât satyena shakyate samuttaritum. Pashchât sânandaḥ sambhûto 'ham, yat vṛiddhayo muktâtmanâñ sâkshiñ daduḥ, yadasau pâpañ na kṛitavân. Pashchât Hormmijda uvâcha dâtâ.* 21, 13. D. [illegible]; $K_{20}$ adds [illegible]. 22, 3. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 22, 5. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 22, 8. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 23, 5. D. [illegible].



yakhsenunêḍ, 25 *dakyâ* yôshdâsar va yazishnŏ amat, pavan hamgûnak, Yadadân-mînishnyîsh vâdûnêḍ, hamâk li khavîtûnam.

26 Va amat zak sakhun vashammûnḍ, zôfar namâz yedrûnḍ val dâḍâr Aûharmazd. 27 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbŏ, pîrûzkaryîsh va tagdîlîryîsh, vaḍârḍ val denman gâs-i vastarg. 28 Pîrûz yehevûnâḍ gadman-i *shapîr* dînô-i *Mâzdayasnân!*

29 Frajaft pavan drûḍ va shâḍîh va *râmishn.*

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CI. 25, 1. D. $H_6$ [illegible]. 28, 4. D. om. 28, 6. end of Pâzand in $H_{18}$; $K_{20}$ adds … 29, 7. D. adds [illegible]. In three MSS. the tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô follows immediately, two lines being left blank in $H_6$, one in $K_{26}$, and none in $K_{20}$.

# The Book

of

# Arḍâ-Virâf.

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English Translation with notes

by

M. Haug, Ph. D.

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# Observations.

Words printed in *italics* are not expressed in the original text, but are supplied, in the translation, to complete the sense. When marked as parentheses, they are merely explanations of the preceding words. As the translation is, however, not *strictly* literal, such additional words as pronouns, particles and the verb 'to be', which are clearly understood in the original, are not italicized in the translation.

Notes to which the word [Dest.] is appended, are based upon remarks affixed by Destur Hoshangji to his edition of the text. The same abbreviations are used as in the notes to the Pahlavî text.

## Chapter I.

**In the name of God.**

1 They say that, once upon a time, the pious Zaratûsht (*Zoroaster*) made the religion, which he had received, current in the world; 2 and till the completion of 300 years, the religion was in purity, and men were without doubts. 3 But afterwards, the accursed Evil-spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, 4 instigated the accursed Alexander, the Rûman[1], who was dwelling in Egypt[2], so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; 5 he also slew the ruler of Iran, 6 and destroyed the metropolis and empire, and made them desolate.

7 And this religion[3], namely, all the Avesta and Zand, written upon prepared cow-skins, and with gold ink, was deposited in the archives[4], in Stâkhar Pâpakân[5]; 8 and the hostility of the evil-destined, wicked Ashemôk, the evil-doer, brought onward Alexander, the

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[1] That is, a native of those Greek provinces which afterwards became an important part of the eastern empire of the Romans.

[2] The word Mûjrâyîk, which has been wholly misunderstood by the Pâzand writers, is evidently connected with anc. Pers. *Mudrâya*, Heb. מִצְרַיִם 'Egypt', and alludes to the fact that Alexander came from Egypt to complete the overthrow of the Persian empire. See Z.-Pahl. Glos. p. xxxix.

[3] That is, the religious writings.

[4] Or, 'among the city documents'; *karîtâ*, or *kirîtâ*, must be traced to Chald. קִרְיְתָא, Heb. קִרְיַת, which latter is used, in the names of several towns, as the English word 'fort' is in the names Fort-William, Fort-George, etc. See Z.-Pahl. Glos. p. xl.

[5] The name of Persepolis in Sasanian times, the modern Persian اِصطخر.

Rûman, who was dwelling in Egypt, and he burnt them up[1]. 9 And he killed several desturs and judges and herbads and mobads and

[1] This statement, regarding the burning of the religious books by Alexander, which often occurs in Parsi writings, has been supposed to have originated in a modern misunderstanding, whereby the destruction consequent upon the Mohamedan conquest, has been attributed to the Greek invader. Heeren first expressed the opinion that, as the persecution of foreign religions was quite contrary to Alexander's policy, this statement of the Parsis was not to be credited; and his opinion has been generally adopted by later writers, without further examination. On comparing, however, the statements made in Pahlavî books, with the accounts of the destruction of Persepolis, given by classical writers, it appears that the latter rather confirm, than contradict, the statements of the Parsis. From the account given in the text, and that quoted from the Dîn-kard in the Zand-Pahlavî Glossary, p. xxxi—xxxviii., it seems that the books deposited in the archives at Persepolis were burnt at the time of Alexander's conquest; but the latter account speaks of another copy of the books, which fell into the hands of the Greeks, and was translated by them; from which it must be concluded, that the Persians do not complain of any special religious persecution on the part of Alexander, but only of the ordinary devastation of a conqueror. The same two copies of the books are also mentioned in the proclamation of Khusrû, son of Kovâd, quoted from the Dîn-kard in my Essay on Pahlavî, p. 145—152; wherein he likewise states that Valkhash the Ashkânian (Vologeses the Arsacidan) ordered the collection and preservation of such fragments of the Avesta and Zand as had escaped the destruction and ravages of Alexander and his soldiers; these ravages could not have been those of the Mohamedans, as Khusrû reigned a century before the Mohamedan conquest. Turning to the accounts given by classical writers, we find from Diodorus (17, 72) and Curtius (5, 7), that Alexander really did burn the citadel and royal palace at Persepolis, in a drunken frolic, at the instigation of the Athenian courtezan Thais, and in revenge for the destruction of Greek temples by Xerxes; Arrian (Exped. Alex. 3, 18) also speaks of his burning the royal palace of the Persians. This act of barbarous folly was evidently the result of hasty impulse, and was probably committed at night, when the palace was full of attendants, courtiers and priests; the last, who had special charge of the archives, would naturally attempt to save their treasures, and would certainly be opposed by the intoxicated Greeks, at the cost of many lives. The religious books would be burnt with the archives, in which they were deposited, and many Persians, priests and others, would lose their lives in the confusion;

upholders of the religion [1], and the competent and wise of the country of Iran. 10 And he cast hatred and strife, one with the other, amongst the nobles and householders of the country of Iran; 11 and self-destroyed, he fled to hell [2].

12 And after that, there were confusion and contention among the people of the country of Iran, one with the other. 13 And so they had no lord, nor ruler, nor chieftain, nor destur who was acquainted with the religion, 14 and they were doubtful in regard to God; 15 and religions of many kinds, and different fashions of belief, and

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such would be the natural consequences of the facts mentioned by the western writers, and such are the statements made by the eastern writer in our text.

[1] These names refer to the various grades of the Zoroastrian priesthood. The destur (Pahl. *dastôbar*) is the highpriest, and is compared by the Parsis to the bishop in Christian churches. The word does not occur in the Zand-avesta, and is probably not Zand, but Persian, meaning 'one who wields power', and is also used, in Persian, to signify a minister of state; the ancient form was, no doubt, *dastôbara*. In the Zand-avesta, the dignity of a destur, that is, of a spiritual head and guide, is expressed by the term *zarathushtra* (see Yasna XIX. 18., and my Essay 'über die Ahuna-vairya Formel' in the Sitzungsberichte der phil.-phil. und hist. Classe der K. bay. Akad. der Wiss. 1872, p. 125).

The judge (Pers. *dâwar*, Pahl. *dâtôbar*, originally, no doubt, *dâtô-bara*, 'upholder of justice') is always distinguished from the destur, but like him, was a *ratu*, 'head or chief'. He appears to have held a high rank, which was probably hereditary, as it is still claimed by a high Parsi family at Surat, though not acknowledged by the majority.

The herbads, Z. *aêthrapaiti* (see the Zand-Pahlavî Glossary, p. 127—130), are now those students of Zoroastrian theology, and of the priestly order, who have finished their studies, and successfully read their first Izeshne, Pahl. *yazishn*.

Those herbads who are chiefly engaged in the performance of ceremonies, become mobads, Pahl. *magôpat* which indicates a form *magô-paiti* in ancient Persian. The 'upholders of the religion' are the students of the Avesta. The herbads and mobads, as well as the students, are subordinate to the destur, between whom and the mobad, a marked distinction is made, whenever they are mentioned in Pahlavî books.

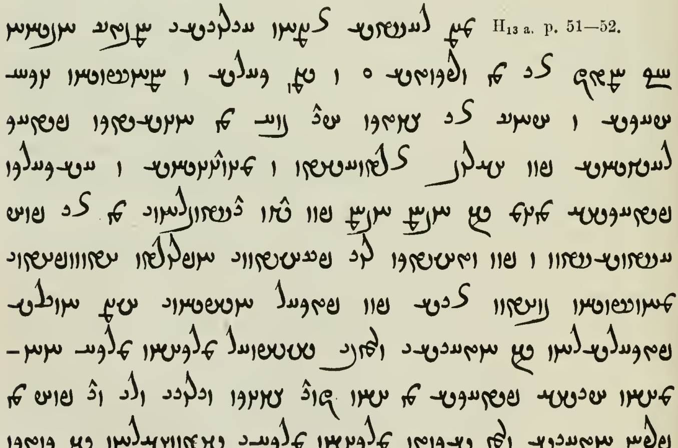
[2] This appears to refer to Alexander's premature death.

scepticism, and various codes of law were promulgated in the world; 16 until the *time* when the blessed and immortal Âtarô-pâḍ-i Mârspendân was born; on whose breast, in the tale which is in the Dînkarḍ[1], melted brass was poured. 17 And much law and justice were

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[1] It is hardly possible to interpret this passage otherwise. The words *dînôkartô* can only refer to that large and comprehensive collection of old religious traditions, which goes by the name of *Dîn-karḍ*, and was compiled from a far more extensive Zand and Pahlavî literature than that which has reached our time. In one of the two volumes, which I possess, of this rare book, *Âtarô-pâḍ Mârspendân* is frequently mentioned; and in two passages, special allusion is made to the fiery ordeal noticed in our text. These passages are here appended, without emendation, and accompanied by a translation which must, however, be considered merely tentative, as the style of the original abounds with difficulties.

$H_{13}$ a. p. 51—52.



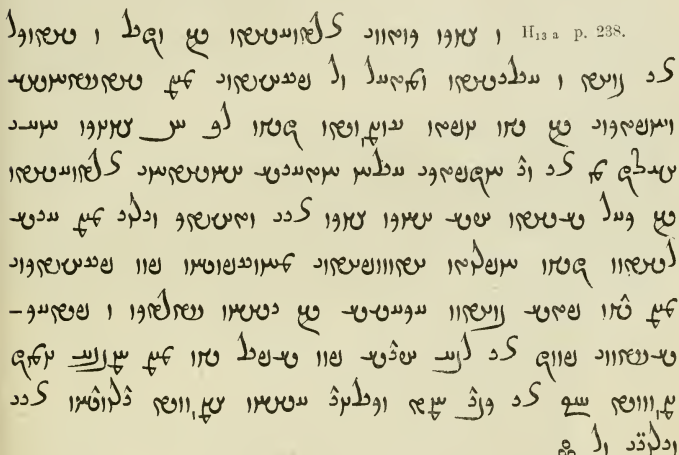
'On truth, which is the inherent freedom from falsehood of our learned (good-speakers?) that is, when it is also owing to habitual practice; and glorifying, and the assistance of the testimony of the archangels, and other marvels (miracles?) of that kind; besides the well-understood proclamation by the pious Zaratûsht, and heavenly visions; and the open manifestation of things at various times, by the desturs of

administered according to different religions and different creeds; 18

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the religion, from those occurrences (or from the rising and setting?); and by the melted brass performance of the blessed Âtarô-pâḍ Mârspendân, and his preservation among the dissenting opinions of the dissenters of the whole of Khvaniras (the civilized world) in the reign of that Shâhpûhar, king of kings, who was the son of Aûharmazd; and the manifestation of miracles, from *var nîrangs* of several other kinds, which were kept in use till after the end of the reign of that Yazdagird, king of kings, who was the son of Shaharyâr'.

H₁₃ a p. 238.



[Speaking of the miracles of Zaratûsht.] 'And one was the execution, by Zaratûsht, of the *var* performance, that secure and irrefragable indicator, unto judges and magistrates, in obscure judicial matters, of which it is said in the religion, there are about 33 kinds. This also, afterwards, the disciples of Zaratûsht kept in use, till the overthrow of the monarchy of Iran. And the custom of it, is only that of pouring melted copper upon anyone; as in the performance of the blessed Âtarô-pâḍ Mârspendân, through whose preservation, a knowledge about the religion was diffused in the world; and of the manifestation too, through that great miracle, this also is said, in like manner, in the good religion, that of the many, when they beheld that *var nîrang*, they believed who were unbelievers'.

The *var nîrang*, mentioned in these two passages, seems to have been an ordeal, for testing the truth of a person's statements, by pouring melted metal on

and the people of this religion *(religious books)*, *deposited* in Shaspigân [1], were in doubt.

19 And afterwards, there were other magi and desturs of the religion; 20 and some of their number [2], were loyal and apprehensive. 21 And an assembly of them was summoned in the residence of the victorious Frôbâg fire [3]; 22 and there were speeches and good ideas, of many kinds, on this *subject*: 23 that 'it is necessary for us to seek 'a means, 24 so that some one of us may go, and bring intelligence 'from the spirits; 25 that the people who exist in this age, shall know '26 whether these Yazishn and Drôn and Âfrînagân *ceremonies*, and 'Nîrang *prayers*, and ablution and purifications [4] which we bring into

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his chest *(var)*; but sometimes the heated metal was applied to the tongue, or the feet, as appears from another passage in the Dîn-kard (MS. $H_{13}$ b. p. 181—183), 'on the distinction between the lawful and proper miracle of the *var nîrang*, and the demoniacal and improper *nîrang* of sorcery'. If the person remained uninjured by the application of the melted metal, the truth of his statements was considered as established, provided the ordeal had been conducted in a lawful and pious manner, and with a due regard to purity of person and clothing.

[1] That is, those who believed in the religious writings deposited in the treasury of Shaspigân. See Z.-Pahl. Glos. p. xxxvi.

[2] Or 'on that account they were', etc.

[3] This is one of the three most ancient fires in Iran, which were held in great reverence, and are mentioned in various Pahlavî books. A short sketch of the history of these old sacred fires, is to be found in the Bundehesh (p. 41. Westerg.). The Frôbâg fire is there said to have been first established in the *âtesh-gâh* on the mountain Gadman-hômand in Khvârizem (Z. Qâirizem), the ancient Khorasmia, on the banks of the Oxus, and extending to the Caspian sea. After Yima's death, this fire was preserved from Dahâk, and in the reign of Gushtâsp, it was transported from Khvârizem to the mountain Rôshan in Kâbulistân, where it is said to have been still existing, when this account, in the Bundehesh, was written. The assembly of desturs, mentioned in the text, would therefore appear to have been held in Kâbulistân.

[4] These ceremonies, which are all accompanied by prayers, are commonly practised by Parsi priests, at the present day.

The *Yazishn* (Izeshne) ceremony consists chiefly of the preparation, offering

'operation, attain unto God, or unto the demons; 27 and come to the 'relief of our souls, or not.'

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and drinking of the Homa juice, during the recital of the prayers contained in the Yasna. It is the most sacred ceremony of the Parsi religion, and is evidently a remnant of the ancient Vedic Soma sacrifice. With regard to the blessings resulting from this ceremony, see the Homa Yasht (Yas. IX.).

The *Drôn* (Darûn) and *Âfrîngân* ceremonies are often performed together, especially at the solemn repasts of the Parsis, called *chashnîs*, which take place at some of the great festivals, such as the Khordâd-sâl, and in honor of the deceased. Of these two ceremonies, the Darûn is considered the more important. The *drôn* (Z. *draonô*) are small, flat, round cakes of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. Of these, four are generally used; two of them, specially called *drôn,* are arranged on the left, parallel to the left side of the table, and the two others, called *frasasti*, are similarly arranged on the right. Some butter *(gâush hudhâo)* is put upon the nearer, or lower, *drôn;* and a twig of the pomegranate-tree on the further, or upper, *frasasti*. Between the further *drôn* and the further *frasasti*, an egg is placed; and the presence of the bunch of sacred twigs, called Barsom *(baresman = brahman)*, is also indispensable. The *drôns* are now consecrated, and the name of him, in whose honor the ceremony is performed, must be mentioned, whether he be an angel, or a deceased Zoroastrian. Afterwards, pieces are broken off the *drôns* by the Mobad, and given to those present to eat.

When the Darûn ceremony is over, the Âfrîngân commences, at the great festivals; but it may, however, on other occasions, be performed without the Darûn. A tray, containing wine and fruits, is used; with flowers on the left side. The wine and fruits are consecrated, when the priest drinks first, and then gives the wine to those who are present to drink. This ceremony is like the Darûn, performed in honor of some angel, or deceased Zoroastrian; and its name is derived from the word *âfrînâmi*, 'I bless', which is used during its performance.

The word *Nîrang* is used both in a general and a more restricted sense. In the former, it signifies a prayer formula, usually short, to be recited on certain occasions; for instance, when cutting the nails, or hair, and after the completion of certain ceremonies, such as that of the Homa. These formulas are now mostly in the so-called Pâzand; and are supposed to ensure the success of the ceremony performed, or to avert any evil which might arise. In a more restricted sense, *Nîrang* means the ceremony, as well as the prayer formula, relating to the preparation of the *gômêz*, 'cow's urine', which is used as the most efficacious means of purification.

28 Afterwards also, with the concurrence of the desturs of the religion, they called all the people to the residence of the Frôbâg fire. 29 And from the whole number, they set apart seven men who had not the slightest doubt of God and the religion, 30 and whose own thoughts and words and deeds were most orderly and proper; 31 and they were told thus: 'Seat yourselves down, 32 and select 'one from *among* you, who is best for this duty, and the most inno-'cent and respected'.

33 And afterwards, those seven men sat down; 34 and from the seven, three were selected; and from the three, one only, named Vîrâf; 35 and some call him the Nîshâpûrian[1]. 36 Then that Vîrâf, as he heard that decision, stood upon his feet, 37 joined his hands on his breast, and spoke 38 thus: 'If it please you, then give me not 'the undesired narcotic[2], 39 till you cast lots for the Mazdayasnians 'and me[3]; 40 and if the lot come to me, I shall go willingly to that

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'Ablution' is the translation of the term *pâdyâvîh*, which can be traced to the Z. *paityâpa*, a word which has not, however, the same meaning as is generally attached to *pâdyâvîh*, by which the Parsis understand washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles; which they perform whenever they are going to recite prayers, repeating a formula during the ablution.

'Purification' (*yôshdâsarîh*, Z. *yaozhdâthrya)* is the so-called Barashnom ceremony, which is described in Vend. IX. This process of purification, in which cow's urine plays an important part, lasts for nine nights.

[1] Or 'by the name of Nikhshâpûr', according to the orthography of the old MSS. This name, which is also written Nîshâpûhar, Nikhshâpûhar, etc., is that of a commentator on the Avesta who is quoted in the Pahlavî translation of Vend. V. 34. VIII. 22., and also many times in the Nîrangistân.

[2] When natives of India wish to obtain supernatural information, they sometimes give (it is said) a narcotic prepared from the seeds of the *dhattura* plant, to a boy, or old man, and place much reliance upon his answers to their questions, while under its intoxicating influence. [Dest.]

[3] It is possible that the text is incorrectly read, and that *var nahîchak* is a echnical name for some mode of casting lots; especially as the change of per-

'place of the pious and the wicked, 41 and carry this message cor-'rectly, and bring *an answer* truly'.

42 And afterwards, the lots of those Mazdayasnians and me were drawn; 43 the first time with the *word* 'well-thought', and the second time with the *word* 'well-said', and the third time with the *word* 'well-done'; each of the three lots came to Vîrâf.

## Chapter II.

1 And that Vîrâf had seven sisters, 2 and all those seven sisters were as wives[1] of Vîrâf; 3 they had also learnt the religion by heart, and recited the prayers. 4 And when they heard *those tidings*, then hey came upon them so very grievously, 5 that they clamored and shrieked, 6 and went into the presence of the assembly of the Mazdayasnians, 7 and they stood up and bowed, 8 and said thus: 'Do 'not this thing, ye Mazdayasnians; 9 for we are seven sisters, and he

sons in 42, is awkwardly suspicious. $H_{17}$ alters  to  in both places; $H_{18}$ reads *u man* in 39, and *Vîrâja ô* in 42; and Destur Hoshangji would omit  in 42; but no editor is justified in making arbitrary alterations in an old text. The Pâzand MSS. read *nâhîcha*, and some desturs *vâijeh*, for *nahîchak;* the Sans. version has *ḍangaraka.*

[1] This incident appears to be introduced, merely as an illustration of the extraordinary piety of Vîrâf, in obeying the precepts of his religion with regard to *khvaêtvadatha*, or 'next-of-kin marriage'; it also indicates that the tale was written before the ancient practice of marriage between brothers and sisters, was discontinued. The later Pâzand and Persian MSS. obscure the meaning by omitting this sentence; and $H_{18}$, by sometimes changing 'sisters' into 'wives', and 'brother' into 'husband', conveys the idea that Vîrâf had seven wives who were merely sisters to each other. Destur Hoshangji thinks that they were not married, but only a sisterhood of nuns, in imitation of Christian customs; though he admits that there is no evidence that such an institution ever existed among Zoroastrians. If, however, they were married, he thinks it may have been merely a *nominal* marriage. As an instance of the ancient practice of marriage between brother and sister, may be mentioned that of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, with his sister Atossa (Herod. III. 88).

'is an only brother; 10 and we are, all seven sisters, as wives of that 'brother. 11 Just as the door of a house, in which seven lintels [1] 'were fixed, and one post below, 12 they who shall take away that 'post, will make those lintels fall; 13 so for us seven sisters, is this 'only brother, who is our life and maintenance; 14 every benefit from 'him, proceeds from God. 15 Should you send *him*, before *his* time, 'from this realm of the living to that of the dead, 16 you will commit 'an injustice on us without cause'.

17 And afterwards, those Mazdayasnians, when they heard those words, pacified those seven sisters, 18 and said thus: 'We will deliver 'Vîrâf to you, safe and sound [2], in seven days; 19 and the happiness 'of this renown will remain with this man'. 20 Then they became satisfied.

21 And then, Vîrâf [3] joined his hands on his breast before the Mazdayasnians, and said to them 22 thus: 'It is the custom that I 'should pray to the departed souls, and eat food, and make a will; 'afterwards, you will give me the wine and narcotic'. 23 The desturs directed thus: 'Act accordingly' [4].

24 And afterwards, those desturs of the religion selected, in the dwelling of the spirit [5], a place which was thirty footsteps from the

[1] Or 'joists'; the meaning may be that the lintel of the doorway was formed of seven narrow timbers laid, side by side, over the opening, which, when large timber is scarce, and walls are thick, is an easy way of making a large lintel; or it may refer to an entrance verandah, in which one post supports seven joists by means of a post-plate.

[2] Literally: 'healthy'.

[3] Literally: 'that Vîrâf', which is more definite than is necessary in English; so the demonstrative pronoun is omitted in the translation, here and elsewhere.

[4] That is, in accordance with the custom mentioned by Vîrâf.

[5] That is, the dwelling of the angel of fire *(Âtarô yçdatô)*, the fire-temple in which they were assembled, previously called 'the residence of the Frôbâg fire'; see I. 21, 28.

good[1]. 25 And Vîrâf washed his head and body, and put on new clothes; 26 he fumigated himself with sweet scent[2], and spread a carpet, new and clean, on a prepared couch[3]. 27 He sat down on the clean carpet of the couch[4], 28 and consecrated the Drôn, and remembered the departed souls, and ate food. 29 And then those desturs of the religion filled three golden cups with wine and the narcotic of Vishtâsp[5]; 30 and they gave one cup over to Vîrâf with the *word* 'well-thought', and the second cup with the *word* 'well-said', and the third cup with the *word* 'well-done'; 31 and he swallowed the wine and narcotic, and said grace whilst conscious, and slept upon the carpet.

32 Those desturs of the religion and the seven sisters were *occupied*, seven days and nights, with the ever-burning fire and fumigations; and they recited the Avesta and Zand of the religious ritual[6],

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[1] Literally: 'as to that which is good'. As the soul of Vîrâf was about to quit the body, it was necessary that the latter should be treated as a dead body, and be kept thirty footsteps away from fire, water and other holy things; see Vend. VIII. 7. [Dest.]

[2] Such fumigation is not now practised by the Parsis, but that it was so formerly, is evident from Vend. IX. 32. [Dest.]

[3] Divan, or dais.

[4] Or 'at the *proper* time, he sat down on the clean carpet'.

[5] This specific name of a narcotic is also used in the Pahlavî translation of Vend. XV. 14, as follows: *zak mûn hân frâz barad mang, ayûf shêt, ayûf zak-i Vishtâspân, ayûf zak-i Zaratûhashtân:* 'that old woman brought *mang*, or *shêt*, either that of Vishtâsp, or that of Zaratûsht'. [Dest.]

[6] The original term is *nîrang-i dînôîk*, by which is generally understood the ceremony and prayers requisite for the preparation of the *gômêz*, or cow's urine for purificatory purposes; and it may probably be taken in this sense here. This ritual was recited in order to avert any evil influence which might do harm to Ardâ Vîrâf, on his journey to the other world. It is interesting to observe that both the Avesta and Zand of these prayers were recited; that is to say, both those which were composed in the Avesta, or so-called Zand language, and those in the proper Zand idiom, or Pahlavî, (see the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary under those terms).

33 and recapitulated the Nasks[1], and chanted the Gâthas[2], and kept watch in the dark. 34 And those seven sisters sat around the carpet of Vîrâf, 35 and seven days and nights, the Avesta was repeated. 36 Those seven sisters, with all the desturs and herbads and mobads of the religion of the Mazdayasnians, discontinued not their protection in any manner.

## Chapter III.

1 And the soul of Vîrâf went, from the body, to the Chinvat bridge of Chakât-i-Dâîtîk, 2 and came back the seventh day[3], and went into the body. 3 Vîrâf rose up, as if he arose from a pleasant sleep, 4 thinking of Vohûman[4] and joyful.

5 And those sisters, with the desturs of the religion and the Mazdayasnians, when they saw Vîrâf, became pleased and joyful; 6 and they said thus: 'Be thou welcome, Vîrâf, the messenger of us Mazda-'yasnians, who art come, from the realm of the dead, to this realm of 'the living'. 7 Those herbads and desturs of the religion bowed before

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[1] The 21 *Nasks* (Nosks), or 'books', of the Avesta are frequently mentioned in the Parsi writings. They comprised the whole religious and scientific literature of the Zoroastrian priesthood (see the word *nask* in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos.). It is doubtful whether the recapitulation of the Nasks refers to the whole of them, or only a portion; but it means, probably, only a recital of their general contents, as it can scarcely be supposed that all the Nasks were extant, in their entirety, in the time of Ardâ Vîrâf. An abstract of the contents of many of them, is preserved in the Dîn-kard, in the Pahlavî language. But fragments of only three of them, are now extant in the old Avesta language, viz. the larger portion of the Vendidâd, a fragment of the Hâdôkht Nask, and another of the Vishtâsp Nask. The Vendidâd and Vishtâsp Nask are still recited, as prayers for religious purposes, by the Parsi priests; and the formulas used, when the Vendidâd is so recited, are given in Westergaard's Zend-avesta, p. 485.

[2] The recital of the five Gâthas, which are the most sacred hymns and prayers the Parsis possess in the Yasna, is compulsory on every Zoroastrian.

[3] Literally: 'day and night'; that is, the natural day of twenty-four hours.

[4] That is, 'inspired with good thoughts'.

Vîrâf. 8 And then Vîrâf, as he saw them, came forward and bowed, and said thus: 'For you is a blessing from Aûharmazd, the lord, and 'the archangels *(ameshâspends)*; 9 and a blessing from the pious Zara-'tûsht, *the descendant* of Spitâma; 10 and a blessing from Srôsh the 'pious, and Âtarô the angel (*yazad*), and the glorious religion of the 'Mazdayasnians; 11 and a blessing from the remaining pious; and a 'blessing from the remaining spirits of paradise who are *in* happiness 'and repose'.

12 And afterwards, the desturs of the religion said 13 thus: 'A 'faithful minister [1] art thou, Vîrâf, who art the messenger of us Maz-'dayasnians; and may thy blessing be for thee also. 14 Whatever 'thou sawest, relate to us truly'.

15 Then Vîrâf spoke thus: 'First this is to be said, 16 that to 'give the hungry and thirsty food, is the first *thing*, 17 and afterwards 'to make enquiry of him, and appoint his task'.

18 Then the desturs of the religion assented [2] thus: 'Well and 'good'. 19 And well-cooked and savory [3] food and broth, and cold water and wine were brought. 20 They also consecrated the ceremonial cake (*drôn*); and Vîrâf muttered grace, and ate the food, and having finished the sacred repast (*myazd*), he said grace. 21 And he recounted the praises of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and thanks to Horvadad and Ameredad, the archangels; and he uttered the benedictions (*âfrînagân*).

22 He also directed thus: 'Bring a writer who is wise and learned'. 23 And an accomplished writer, who was learned, was brought by them, and sat before him; 24 and whatsoever Vîrâf said, he wrote correctly, clearly and explicitly.

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[1] Literally: 'a proper servant'.

[2] Literally: 'ordered'.

[3] Literally: 'well-scented'.

## Chapter IV.

1 And he ordered him to write 2 thus: In that first night, Srôsh the pious and Atarô the angel came to meet me, 3 and they bowed to me, and spoke 4 thus: 'Be thou welcome, Arḍâ Vîrâf, although thou 'hast come when it is not thy time'.[1] 5 I said: 'I am a messenger'. 6 And then the victorious Srôsh, the pious, and Âtarô the angel, took hold of my hand. 7 *Taking* the first footstep with the good thought, and the second footstep with the good word, and the third footstep with the good deed, I came up to the Chinvat bridge, the very wide[2] and strong and created by Aûharmazd.

8 When I came up there, 9 I saw a soul of the departed[3], whilst in those first three nights the soul was seated on the top of the body, 10 and uttered those words of the Gâtha: 11 'Ushtâ ahmâi yahmâi 'ushtâ kahmâichîḍ'; that is, 'Well is he by whom that which is his 'benefit, *becomes* the benefit of anyone else'. 12 And in those three nights, as much benefit and comfort and enjoyment came to it, 13 as all the benefit which it beheld in the world; 14 just as a man who, whilst he was in the world, was more comfortable and happy and joyful through it.

15 In the third dawn, that soul of the pious departed into the sweet scent of trees; 16 and he considered that scent pleasanter than every pleasant scent which passed by his nose among the living; 17 and the air of that fragrance comes from the more southern side, from the direction of God.

18 And there stood before him[4], his own religion and his own deeds, in the graceful form of a damsel, as a beautiful appearance, that

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[1] Or 'although the time of thy coming is not yet'.

[2] Or 'the refuge of many', or 'the much-protecting', according to $II_{18}$.

[3] The remainder of this chapter is nearly the same as the Hâḍôkht Nask, II. 4—32.

[4] Compare Mkh. II. 125–139 with the remainder of this chapter.

is, grown up in virtue; 19 with prominent breasts, that is, her breasts swelled downwards [1], which is charming to the heart and soul; 20 whose form was as brilliant, as the sight of it was the more well-pleasing, the observation of it more desirable.

21 And the soul of the pious asked that damsel 22 thus: 'Who 'art thou? and what person art thou? than whom, in the world of the 'living, any damsel more elegant, and of more beautiful body than 'thine, was never seen by me'.

23 To him replied she who was his own religion and his own deeds, 24 thus: 'I am thy actions, O youth of good thoughts, of good words, of 'good deeds, of good religion. 25 It is on account of thy will and actions, 'that I am as great and good and sweet-scented and triumphant and un-'distressed as appears to thee. 26 For in the world, the Gâthas were 'chanted by thee, and the good water was consecrated by thee, and the 'fire tended by thee; 27 and the pious man who came from far, and who 'was from near, was honored by thee. 28 Though I have been stout, I 'am made stouter through thee; 29 and though I have been virtuous, I am 'made more virtuous through thee; 30 and though I have been worthy, I 'am made more worthy through thee; 31 and though I have been seated 'on a resplendent throne, I am seated more resplendently through thee; '32 and though I have been exalted, I am made more exalted through 'thee; 33 through these good thoughts and good words and good deeds 'which thou practisedst. 34 They honored thee, and the pious man 'after thee, 35 in that long worship and communion with Aûharmazd, 'when thou performedst, for Aûharmazd, worship and proper conversa-'tion for a long time. 36 Peace be from it'.

## Chapter V.

1 Afterwards, the width of that Chinvat bridge became again nine javelin-lengths. 2 With the assistance of Srôsh the pious, and

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[1] This appears to be the simplest way of reconciling this explanatory phrase with the preceding epithet; but the whole sentence is somewhat obscure.

Âtarô the angel, I passed over easily, happily, courageously and triumphantly, on the Chinvat bridge. 3 *I had* much protection from Mitrô the angel, and Rashn the just, and Vâî the good[1], and the angel Vâhrâm the powerful, and the angel Ashtâd the world-increasing, and the glory of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; 4 and the guardian angels[2] (*fravashis*) of the pious, and the remaining spirits first bowed to me, Ardâ Vîrâf. 5 I also saw, I Ardâ Vîrâf, Rashn the just, who held, in his hand, the yellow golden balance, and weighed the pious and the wicked.

6 And afterwards, Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, took hold of my hand, 7 and said thus: 'Come on, so that we may show 'unto thee heaven and hell; and the splendor and glory and ease and 'comfort and pleasure and joy and delight and gladness and fragrance 'which are the reward of the pious in heaven. 8 We shall show thee 'the darkness and confinement and ingloriousness and misfortune and 'distress and evil and pain and sickness and dreadfulness and fearful-'ness and hurtfulness and stench in the punishments of hell, of various 'kinds, which the demons and sorcerers and sinners perform. 9 We 'shall show thee the place of the true and that of the false. 10 We 'shall show thee the reward of the firm believers in Aûharmazd and 'the archangels, and the good which is in heaven, and the evil which 'is in hell; 11 and the reality of God and the archangels, and the non-'reality of Akharman and the demons; and the existence of the resur-'rection of the dead and the future body. 12 We shall show thee the 'reward of the pious, from Aûharmazd and the archangels, in the midst 'of heaven. 13 We shall show thee the torment and punishment of 'various kinds, which are for the wicked, in the midst of hell, from 'Akharman and the molestations of the demons'.

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[1] That is, the Yazad Râm, 'the good flyer'; see Mkh. Glos. p. 203—204.

[2] More correctly 'spiritual representatives'. Every creature and object created by Aûharmazd, is supposed to possess a spiritual representative in the other world see Mkh. XLIX. 23.

## Chapter VI.

1 I came to a place, 2 and I saw the souls of several people, who remain in the same position. 3 And I asked the victorious Srôsh, the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Who are they? and why remain 'they here?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'They call 'this place, Hamêstagân (*the ever-stationary*); 6 and these souls remain 'in this place till the future body [1]; 7 and *they are* the souls of those 'men whose good works and sin were equal. 8 Speak out to the 'worlds thus: 'Let not avarice and vexation prevent you from doing a "very easy good work [2]; 9 for everyone whose good works are three "Srôshô-charanâm [3] more than his sin, *goes* to heaven; 10 *they* whose "sin is more, *go* to hell; 11 *they* in whom both are equal, remain "among these Hamêstagân till the future body'. 12 Their punishment 'is cold, or heat, from the revolution of the atmosphere; and they have 'no other adversity'.

## Chapter VII.

1 And afterwards, I put forth the first footstep to the star track, on Hûmat, the place where good thoughts (*hûmat*) are *received* with hospitality. 2 And I saw those souls of the pious whose radiance, which ever increased, was glittering as the stars; 3 and their throne and seat were under the radiance [4], and splendid and full of glory.

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[1] That is, 'the resurrection'.

[2] Literally: 'Consider not the easier good works with avarice and as vexation'.

[3] This is evidently the name of some very small weight, the value of which is no longer known. It is apparently identical with the *sraoshô-charanaya* which is so frequently mentioned in the Vendidâd, in connection with numerals, when a fine is awarded.

[4] Or 'were very brilliant'.

4 And I asked Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Which 'place is this? and which people are these?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This place 'is the star track; and those are the souls 7 who, in the world, offered 'no prayers, and chanted no Gâthas, and contracted no next-of-kin mar- 'riage; 8 they have also exercised no sovereignty, nor rulership nor 'chieftainship. 9 Through other good works they have become pious'.

## Chapter VIII.

1 When I put forth the second footstep, *it was* to Hûkht of the moon track, the place where good words (*hûkht*) *find* hospitality; 2 and I saw a great assembly of the pious.

3 And I asked Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Which 'place is this? and who are those souls?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This place 'is the moon track; and these are those souls who, in the world, offered 'no prayers, and chanted no Gâthas, and contracted no next-of-kin 'marriage; 6 but through other good works they have come hither; '7 and their brightness is like unto the brightness of the moon'.

## Chapter IX.

1 When I put forth the third footstep on Hûvarsht, there where good deeds (*hûvarsht*) are *received* with hospitality, there I arrived. 2 *There* is the radiance which they call the highest of the highest; 3 and I saw the pious on thrones and carpets made of gold; 4 and they were people whose brightness was like unto the brightness of the sun.

5 And I asked Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Which 'place is this? and who are those souls?'

6 Srosh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the 'sun track; and those are the souls 8 who, in the world, exercised 'good sovereignty and rulership and chieftainship'.

## Chapter X.

1 I put forth the fourth footstep unto the radiance of Garôdmân, the all-glorious; 2 and the souls of the departed came to meet us, and they asked a blessing, and offered praise, 3 and they spoke thus: 'How 'hast thou come forth, O pious one? 4 From that perishable and very 'evil world, thou hast come unto this imperishable, unmolested world '5 *Therefore* taste immortality [1], for here you see pleasure eternally'.

6 And after that, Âtarô, the angel of the fire of Aûharmazd, came forward, saluted me, 7 and said thus: 'A fine supplier art thou, Ardâ 'Vîrâf, of green wood, who art the messenger of the Mazdayasnians!'

8 Then I saluted, and said 9 thus: 'Thy servant, O Âtarô the 'angel, *it was* who, in the world, always put upon thee wood and per'fume seven years old, 10 and you exclaim about my green wood!' [2]

11 Then Âtarô, the angel of the fire of Aûharmazd, said 12 thus: 'Come on, that I may show thee the tank of water of the green wood 'which was put upon me'.

13 And he led me on to a place, and showed the blue water of a large tank, 14 and said: 'This is the water which that wood exuded, 'which thou puttedst upon me'.

## Chapter XI.

1 Afterwards, arose Vohûman, the archangel, from a throne made

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[1] Destur Hoshangji considers this as referring to the *zaremaya raoghna* (Hâdôkht Nask II. 38; the *maidyôzarm raogan* of Mkh. II. 152), otherwise called *mînô rôghan*, a gobletful of which is said to be given, by the archangel Vohûman, to the soul of a pious person before it enters paradise. By drinking it, the soul is supposed to become oblivious of all worldly cares and concerns, and is thus prepared for eternal happiness.

[2] The text of this conversation may be corrupt in some places, but it is hazardous to attempt emendations. The translation gives the most plausible meaning which can be extracted from the original, with the minimum of alteration.

of gold [1], 2 and he took hold of my hand; with *the words* 'good thought' and 'good word' and 'good deed', he brought me into the midst of Aûharmazd and the archangels and other holy ones, 3 and the guardian angels of Zaratûsht Spitâma, Kaî-Vishtâsp, Jâmâsp [2], Isadvâstar *the son* of Zaratûsht, and other upholders and leaders of the religion, 4 than whom I have never seen *anyone* more brilliant and excellent.

5 And Vohûman [3] said 6 thus: 'This is Aûharmazd'. 7 And I wished to offer worship before him.

8 And he said to me thus: 'Salutation to thee, Ardâ Vîrâf, thou 'art welcome; 9 from that perishable world, thou hast come to this 'pure, bright place'. 10 And he ordered Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, 11 thus: 'Take Ardâ Vîrâf, and show him the place and reward 'of the pious, 12 and also the punishment of the wicked'.

13 Then Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel took hold of my hand; 14 and I was led by them from place to place. 15 I also saw the archangels, and I beheld the other angels; 16 I also saw the guardian angels of Gayômard, Zaratûsht, Kaî-Vishtâsp, Frashôshtar, Jâmâsp, and other well-doers and leaders of the religion.

## Chapter XII.

1 I also came to a place, and saw 2 the souls of the liberal, who walked adorned, 3 and were above the other souls, in all splendor; 4 and Aûharmazd ever exalts the souls of the liberal, who are brilliant and elevated and mighty. 5 And I said thus: 'Happy art thou who

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[1] Compare Vend. XIX. 31: *uschishtad Vohu-manô hacha gâtvô zaranyô-keretô.* [Dest.]

[2] In the Jâmâsp-nâmah, Jâmâsp is said to have been the mobad of mobads, or chief highpriest, who succeeded Zaratûsht in the time of king Vishtâsp. In the Avesta, his name is generally mentioned with that of Frashôshtar (see Yasna 12, 7. 46, 16-17. 49, 8-9. 51, 17-18. Yasht 13, 103.), as it is also in sentence 16 of the text; and they are supposed to have been brothers.

[3] There is probably some omission here; see the note in the Pahlavî text.

'art a soul of the liberal, that are thus above the other souls'. 6 And it seemed to me sublime.

7 I also saw the souls of those who, in the world, chanted the Gâthas and used the prescribed prayers (*yeshts*), 8 and were steadfast in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, which Aûharmazd taught to Zaratûsht; 9 when I advanced, *they were*[1] in gold-embroidered and silver-embroidered clothes, the most embellished of all clothing. 10 And it seemed to me very[2] sublime.

11 I also saw a soul of those who contract next-of-kin marriages[3], in material-fashioned splendor, 12 when the lofty splendor of its residence ever increased thereby[4]. 13 And it seemed to me sublime.

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[1] This appears to be the meaning intended, when this sentence is compared with 12 and 16. Ardâ Vîrâf can hardly be describing his own dress here, as he confines his descriptions, elsewhere, to the state of the souls he sees. If there be no omission in the text, it is possible that *hômand* should be read for *hômanam*, and the translation would then be: 'when they advanced to me'.

[2] Or 'more'.

[3] The ideas of the modern Parsis, with regard to *khvaêtvadatha* or next-of-kin marriage, may be gathered from the following translation of a note appended to a Persian version of Akharman's advice to Aêshma about the Gahanbârs, Myazd and Khvêtûdat, in the MS. $H_5$: 'Therefore, it is necessary to know that the greater *khvêtûdat* is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; the medium *khvêtûdat* is that of a brother's son with a brother's daughter, or of a sister's son with a sister's daughter; and inferior to the medium *khvêtûdat* is that of a sister's son and a brother's daughter. It is also necessary to know that any one who performs *khvêtûdat*, if his soul be fit for hell, will go among the *hamêstagân;* and if he is one of the *hamêstagân*, he will go to heaven'. An older treatise on *khvêtûdat,* which occupies seven folio pages in the Dîn-kard, appears not to mention first cousins, but confines itself to the three nearest relations (mother, sister and daughter), and defends the practice on the grounds of mythological history and general expediency.

[4] The original text is so obscure that it is hazardous to be more explicit in the translation; *azash*, or *afash*, may refer to the soul itself, or its good deeds, or its splendor.

14 I also saw the souls of good rulers and monarchs, 15 who ever increased their greatness, goodness, power and triumph thereby [1], 16 when they walk in splendor, in their golden trowsers [2]. 17 And it seemed to me sublime.

18 I also saw the souls of the great and of truthful speakers, who walked in lofty splendor with great glory. 19 And it seemed to me sublime.

## Chapter XIII.

1 I also saw the souls of those women of excellent thoughts, of excellent words, of excellent deeds, and submissive to control, who consider their husbands as lords, 2 in clothing embroidered with gold and silver, and set with jewels. 3 And I asked thus: 'Which souls 'are those?'

4 And Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These 'are the souls of those women who, in the world, have honored water, 'and honored fire, and honored earth and trees, cattle and sheep, and 'all the other good creations of Aûharmazd. 6 And they performed 'the Yazishn and Drôn *ceremonies*, and the praise and service of God; '7 and they performed the rites and praises of the angels of the heav'enly *existences*, and the angels of the earthly *existences;* 8 and they 'practised acquiescence and conformity, reverence and obedience to 'their husbands and lords; 9 and they were without doubts on the 'religion of the Mazdayasnians. 10 They were diligent in the doing of

[1] This sentence is also obscure, but *azash* appears to refer to the walking.

[2] The reading adopted in the Pahlavî text is *rânô-varḏînô*, which is equivalent to *rân-girdîn* in Persian, and may be compared with *gird-rân* and *rânîn*; another probable reading is *rukho va varḏînô*, which may be translated: 'coronets and crowns'; *rukh* and *girzîn (garzan*, or *karzan)* being both terms for Persian crowns; *gardûn* and *karjawân* are also somewhat similar terms; and as *varḏînô* can be read *vartîrô*, it might perhaps be likewise compared with *kartîr*, the term for 'crown' in the Sasanian inscription of Naksh-i Rajab.

'good works, 11 and they have been abstainers from sin'. 12 And it seemed to me sublime.

## Chapter XIV.

1 I also saw the souls of performers of the Yazishn *ceremony*, and of those who know the scriptures by heart, splendid among the lofty, and exalted among the great [1]. 2 And it seemed to me sublime.

3 I also saw the souls of those who solemnized the whole *ritual of the* religion, and performed and directed the worship of God, 4 who were seated above the other souls; 5 and their good works stood as high as heaven [2]. 6 And it seemed to me very sublime.

7 I also saw the souls of warriors, whose walk was in the supremest pleasure and joyfulness, and together with that of kings; 8 and the well-made arms and equipments of those heroes, were made of gold, studded with jewels, well-ornamented and all embroidered; 9 *and they were* in wonderful trowsers [3], with much pomp and power and triumph. 10 And it seemed to me sublime.

11 I also saw the souls of those who killed many noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) in the world; 12 and the prosperity [4] of the waters and sacred fires, and fires *in general*, and trees, and the prosperity also of the earth was ever increased thereby; and they were exalted and adorned [5]. 13 And it seemed to me very sublime.

14 I also saw the souls of agriculturists, in a splendid place, and

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[1] Literally: 'splendid in what is lofty, and exalted in what is great'.

[2] Literally: 'stood sky-high'.

[3] Or 'greaves'; but more probably 'coronets and crowns', see note to XII. 16. It will be observed that the sentences 7—9 are more closely connected in Pahlavî than in this translation.

[4] It must be recollected that the Huz. *gadman* means both *bakht* and *khûrah* in Pazand, and the former, which appears to be its original meaning, is here the better suited to the context.

[5] Literally: 'they were in exaltation and adornment'.

glorious and thick majestic clothing; 15 as they stood, and offered praise, before the spirits of water and earth, trees and cattle; 16 and they utter thanksgiving and praise and benediction; 17 their throne also is great, and the place they occupy is good. 18 And it seemed to me sublime.

19 I also saw the souls of artizans who, in the world, served their rulers and chieftains; 20 as they sat on thrones which were well-carpeted and great, splendid and embellished. 21 And it seemed to me very sublime.

## Chapter XV.

1 I also saw the souls of shepherds, by whom, in the world, quadrupeds and sheep were employed and fed, 2 and preserved from the wolf and thief and tyrannical man. 3 And at appointed times [1], water and grass and food were given; 4 and they were preserved from severe cold and heat; 5 and the males were allowed *access* at the usual time, and properly restrained *when inopportune;* 6 whereby very great advantage, profit and benefit, food and clothing were afforded to the men of that time. 7 Which *souls* walked among those who are brilliant, on a beautiful eminence [2], in great pleasure and joy. 8 And it seemed to me very sublime.

9 I also saw many golden thrones, fine carpets and cushions decked with rich cloth [3], 10 on which are seated the souls of householders and justices, who were heads of village families, and exercised mediation and authority, 11 and made a desolate place prosperous; 12 they also brought many conduits, streams and fountains for the improvement of tillage and cultivation, and the advantage of creatures. 13 And as they stand before those who are the guardian angels of water, and of trees, and also of the pious, in great power and triumph, 14 they offer them

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[1] Or 'when the time arrived'.

[2] As *bar* has many other meanings, this phrase is doubtful.

[3] Pers. *bûb* = *yûb*.

blessings and praise, and repeat thanksgivings. 15 And it seemed to me very sublime.

16 I also saw the souls of the faithful, the teachers and inquirers, in the greatest gladness on a splendid throne. 17 And it seemed to me sublime.

18 I also saw the friendly souls of interceders and peace-seekers, 19 who ever increased thereby their brilliance, which was like the stars and moon and sun; 20 and they ever walked agreeably in the light of the atmosphere.

21 I also saw the pre-eminent world of the pious, which is the all-glorious light of space, much perfumed with sweet basil (*ocymum*), all-bedecked, all-admired, and splendid, full of glory and every joy and every pleasure, 22 with which no one is satiated [1].

## Chapter XVI.

1 Afterwards, Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel took hold of my hand, and I went thence onwards. 2 I came to a place, and I saw a great river which was gloomy as dreadful hell; 3 on which river were many souls and guardian angels; 4 and some of them were not able to cross, and some crossed only [2] with great difficulty, and some crossed easily.

5 And I asked thus: 'What river is this? and who are these people 'who stand so distressed?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This river 'is the many tears which men shed from the eyes [3], as they make la-'mentation and weeping for the departed. 8 They shed those tears

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[1] Literally: 'which no one knows satiety from'.

[2] Literally: 'and there are who ever crossed'.

[3] Most probably, *chashm* has been accidentally admitted into the text, from the margin of some old MS., being merely the Pâz. equivalent of the preceding Huz. *aînman;* unless it be corrupted from *chashmak*, when the phrase might be translated: 'from the fountain of the eyes'.

'unlawfully, and they swell to this river. 9 Those who are not able 'to cross over, are those for whom, after their departure, much lamen-'tation and weeping were made; 10 and those *who cross* more easily, 'are those for whom less was made. 11 Speak forth to the world [1] 'thus: 'When you are in the world, make no lamentation and weeping "unlawfully; 12 for so much harm and difficulty may happen to the "souls of your departed".

## Chapter XVII.

1 I came back again to the Chinvat bridge. 2 And I saw a soul of those who were wicked, when in those first three nights, so much mischief and evil were shown to their souls, as never such distress was seen by them in the world. 3 And I inquired of Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This soul 'of the wicked wandered there where the wicked one died, over the 'place where the life went forth; 6 it stood at his head, and uttered 'the Gâtha words 7 thus: 'Creator Aûharmazd! to which land do I go? "and what do I take [2] as a refuge?' 8 And as much misfortune and 'difficulty happen to him, that night, 9 as in the world, unto a man 'who lived in the world, and lived in difficulty and misfortune'.

10 Afterwards [3], a stinking cold wind comes to meet him. 11 So it seemed to that soul as if it came forth from the northern quarter,

[1] In Pahlavî, the plural is here used, to express 'the inhabitants of the world'.

[2] Or it can be read *vâdûnam*, 'I make', as indicated in $K_{20}$ and adopted in Mkh. II. 159. In the Hâdôkht Nask III. 4., this quotation from Yas. XLVI. 1. is differently translated. The translation which is given here, is nearly the same as that which I proposed in my work on the Gâthas II. pag. 46, without knowing the book of Ardâ Vîrâf.

[3] It is not very clear whether the remaining incidents in this chapter are represented as actually seen by Ardâ Vîrâf, or as merely described by Srôsh, but the former seems the more likely.

from the quarter of the demons [1]; a more stinking wind than which, he had not perceived in the world. 12 And in that wind, he saw his own religion and deeds, as a profligate woman [2], naked, decayed, gaping [3], bandy-legged, lean-hipped, and unlimitedly spotted [4], so that spot was joined to spot, like the most hideous [5] noxious creature (*khrafstar*), most filthy and most stinking.

13 Then that wicked soul spoke thus: 'Who art thou? than whom 'I never saw anyone of the creatures of Aûharmazd and Akharman 'uglier, or filthier, or more stinking?'

14 To him she spoke thus: 'I am thy bad actions, O youth of 'evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion. 15 It is on 'account of thy will and actions, that I am hideous and vile, iniquitous 'and diseased, rotten and foul-smelling, unfortunate and distressed, as 'appears to thee. 16 When thou sawest anyone who performed the 'Yazishn and Drôn *ceremonies*, and praise and prayer and the service 'of God; 17 and preserved and protected water and fire, cattle and 'trees, and other good creations; 18 thou practisedst the will of Akhar'man and the demons, and improper actions. 19 And when thou sawest 'one who provided hospitable reception, and gave something deservedly 'in gifts and charity, for the advantage of the good and worthy who 'came from far, and who were from near; 20 thou wast avaricious, and 'shuttedst up thy door. 21 And though I have been unholy, (that is, 'I have been considered bad), I am made more unholy through thee; '22 and though I have been frightful, I am made more frightful through

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[1] The north is supposed to be the special residence of Akharman and the demons, see Vend. XIX. 1.; and hell is also referred to the same region in Mkh. XLIX. 15—17.

[2] This description, which is no longer extant in the Hâdôkht Nask, closely resembles that of the *drukhsh yâ nasush* in Vend. VII. 2. VIII. 71. IX. 26.

[3] The reading of this epithet is doubtful, and consequently, its meaning is uncertain.

[4] Or perhaps: 'scaled'.

[5] Literally: 'sin-accustomed', 'sinful' or 'criminal'.

'thee; 23 though I have been tremulous, I am made more tremulous 'through thee; 24 though I am settled in the northern region *of the* '*demons*, I am settled further north through thee; 25 through these 'evil thoughts, and through these evil words, and through these evil 'deeds, which thou practisedst. 26 They curse me, a long time, in the 'long execration and evil communion of the Evil spirit'[1].

27 Afterwards, that soul of the wicked advanced the first footstep on Dûsh-hûmat (*the place of evil thoughts*)[2], and the second footstep on Dûsh-hûkht (*the place of evil words*)[3], and the third on Dûsh-hûvarsht (*the place of evil deeds*)[4]; and *with* the fourth footstep, he ran to hell.

## Chapter XVIII.

1 Afterwards, Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel took hold of my hand, 2 so that I went on unhurt. 3 In that manner, I beheld cold and heat, drought and stench, 4 to such a degree as I never saw, nor heard of, in the world. 5 And when I went further, 6 I also saw the greedy jaws of hell, like the most frightful pit, descending in a very narrow and fearful place; 7 in darkness so gloomy, that it is necessary to hold by the hand; 8 and in such stench that everyone whose nose inhales that air[5], will struggle and stagger and fall; 9 and on account of such close confinement, no one's existence[6] is possible; 10 and everyone thinks thus: 'I am alone'; 11 and when three days and nights have *elapsed*, he says thus: 'The nine thousand years[7] are

[1] Compare IV. 34—35.

[2] Compare VII. 1.; or perhaps: 'with evil thoughts'.

[3] Compare VIII. 1.; or perhaps: 'with evil words'.

[4] Compare IX. 1.; or perhaps: 'with evil deeds'.

[5] Literally: 'everyone into whose nose that air ascends'; compare Mkh. VII. 30—31.

[6] More correctly: 'stay', 'endurance', or 'continuance'.

[7] At the end of which, the opposition of Akharman is to cease, and the resurrection to take place.

'completed, and they will not release me!' 12 Everywhere, even the lesser noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) are as high as mountains[1], 13 and they so tear and seize and worry the souls of the wicked, as would be unworthy of a dog[2]. 14 And I easily passed in there, with Srôsh the pious, the well-grown and triumphant, and Âtarô the angel.

## Chapter XIX.

1 I came to a place, and I saw the soul of a man, 2 through the fundament of which soul, as it were a snake, like a beam, went in, and came forth out of the mouth; 3 and many other snakes ever seized all the limbs.

4 And I inquired of Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, 5 thus: 'What sin was committed by this body[3], whose soul suffers so severe 'a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed sodomy, 8 and 'allowed a man *to come* on his body; 9 now the soul suffers so severe 'a punishment'.

## Chapter XX.

1 I came to a place, and I saw the soul of a woman, 2 to whom they ever gave to eat cup after cup of the impurity and filth of men.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the

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[1] Literally: 'stand up mountain high'.

[2] Or 'as a dog a bone', according to Mkh. VII. 29.

[3] Or 'by the body of this one', which would represent the Pahlavî of this frequent phrase equally well, and be more correct in language; but being clumsy, and the souls being described as possessing bodies of their own, it is not adopted in the translation.

'soul of that wicked woman who, having not abstained, nor lawfully 'withheld *herself*, approached water and fire during her menstruation'.

## Chapter XXI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 the skin of whose head they ever widen out [1], and with a cruel death they ever kill him.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, slew a pious man'.

## Chapter XXII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 into whose jaws they ever pour the impurity and menstrual discharge of women, 3 and he ever cooked and ate his own seemly child.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, had intercourse with a 'menstruous woman; 7 and every single time, it is a sin of fifteen and 'a half Tanâpûhars' [2].

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[1] That is, they ever flay his head.

[2] According to the Pahlavî Rivâyat, the penalty for a *tanâpûhar* is 300 *stîrs* of 4 *dirams* each, in weight. The value of the *diram* is uncertain; but according to a passage in the Persian MS. $H_5$, on the five kinds of marriage, the proper dowry for a first-class wife is '2000 *dirams* of silver, that is, 2300 *rûpîs*, and 2 *dirams* of gold, that is, $2^1/_4$ *tolas*'; the *rûpî* is now a *tola* weight of silver, but when this MS. was written, 150 years ago, neither denomination was very definite; however, this passage fixes the penalty for a *tanâpûhar* between 1350 and 1380 *rûpîs;* and consequently, the sin described in the text, would cost about 2000 pounds sterling, if the penalty were exacted only in silver.

## Chapter XXIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who, because of hunger and thirst, ever cried thus: 'I shall die'. 3 And he ever tore out his hair and beard, and devoured blood, and cast foam about with his mouth.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, devoured talkatively [1], and 'consumed unlawfully, the water and vegetables of Horvadaḍ and 'Amerôdaḍ, and muttered no grace; 7 and through sinfulness, he cele-'brated no Yesht; 8 such was his contempt of the water of Horvadaḍ, 'and the vegetation of Amerôdaḍ. 9 Now this soul must suffer so se-'vere a punishment'.

## Chapter XXIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who was suspended, by the breasts, to hell; 3 and its noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) seized her whole body.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, left her own husband, '7 and gave herself to other men, and committed adultery'.

## Chapter XXV.

1 I also saw the souls of several men, and several women, 2 whose legs and necks and middle parts a noxious creature (*khrafstar*) ever gnawed, and separated one from the other.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, 'whose souls suffer such a punishment?'

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[1] The Parsis are not permitted to talk when eating.

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked ones who, in the world, walked without 'shoes[1], 6 ran about uncovered[2], made water on foot[3], and performed 'other demon-service'.

## Chapter XXVI.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever stretched out her tongue on her neck, and she was suspended from the atmosphere.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, scorned her husband and 'master, and cursed, abused and defied him'[4].

## Chapter XXVII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom they ever forced to measure dust and ashes, with a bushel and gallon[5], and they ever gave it him to eat.

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[1] Literally: 'performed walking with one shoe'; in all places where this sin is mentioned, its name refers to only one shoe; but the Pahlavî characters for *khadû-mûk*, 'one-shoe' could have been easily corrupted from those for *avî-mûk*, 'without shoes'; and it seems more probable that 'walking without shoes' should be prohibited, than the inconvenient practice of 'walking with one shoe'. [Dest.]

[2] That is, without *sadrah* and *kûstî*, shirt and sacred thread. [Dest.]

[3] That is, whilst standing, whereby more than a *frabda* measure of the ground is polluted. [Dest.] See Vend. XVIII. 40; *frabda* is the fore-part of the foot, Sans. *prapada;* perhaps the instep. See Haug, Das 18te Kapitel des Wendidâd, pag. 12. Aus den Sitzungsberichten der Kgl. baierischen Akademie der Wissenschaften von 1869.

[4] Literally: 'offered abuse and made justificatory replies'.

[5] Or 'bucket', 'goblet', or perhaps 'scale-pan'; if *dûlak* be a measure, its amount can only be guessed; but the *kafîz* is defined as 'a measure containing 64 pounds weight', which corresponds very closely with a bushel. The present tense is used in the Pahlavî of this sentence and some others, as it might be in English.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept no true bushel, nor 'gallon, nor weight, nor measure of length; 6 he mixed water with 'wine, and put dust into grain, and sold them to the people at a high 'price; 7 and stole and extorted something from the good'.

## Chapter XXVIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man who was held in the atmosphere [1], 2 and fifty demons ever flogged him, before and behind, with darting [2] serpents.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, was a bad ruler [3], 6 and 'was unmerciful and destructive [4] among men, and caused torment and 'punishment of various [5] kinds'.

## Chapter XXIX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whose tongue hung on the outside of his jaw, and was ever gnawed by noxious creatures (*khrafstars*).

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

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[1] Literally: 'whom the atmosphere held'.

[2] Compare Vend. XVIII. 65.; Z. *khshvaêwô*, Tîr Yasht 6 and 37.; Pers. شپ, Sans. *kshạp*, *kshịp*; all these imply motion, otherwise 'stinging, sharp' would suit the context both here and in the other passages, L. 3 and LII. 2, where *shapâk* occurs. See Haug, Das 18te Kapitel des Wendidâd, pag. 48.

[3] Literally: 'performed misgovernment'.

[4] Or 'a destroyer'.

[5] Literally: 'such'.

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that man who, in the world, committed slander, and embroiled 'people one with the other; 6 and his soul, in the end, fled to hell'.

## Chapter XXX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whose limbs they ever break and separate, one from the other.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who made unlawfully much slaughter of cattle 'and sheep and other quadrupeds' [1].

## Chapter XXXI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who, from head to foot, remained stretched [2] upon a rack; 3 and a thousand demons trampled upon him, and ever smote him with great brutality and violence.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, collected much wealth; '7 and he consumed it not himself, and neither gave it, nor allowed a 'share, to the good; but kept it in store' [3].

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[1] Though the Parsis, nowadays, do not use beef, owing probably to an understanding with the Hindu governments of former times, its 'lawful' use is evidently contemplated in this chapter, and put upon the same footing as that of mutton. It is only the immoderate, or unnecessary, slaughter of domestic animals, which is here reprobated as a sin. [Dest.]

[2] Literally: 'placed'.

[3] The moral seems to be that the proper use of wealth is first, for our own reasonable gratification, and next, in works of charity. The Parsis are enjoined by their religion to be liberal towards the good and worthy and helpless. [Dest.]

# Chapter XXXII.

1 I also saw the soul of a lazy man, whom they called Davânôs [1], 2 whose whole body a noxious creature (*khrafstar*) ever gnawed, and his right foot was not gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of the lazy Davânôs who, *when* he was in the world, never did 'any good work; 6 but with this right foot, a bundle of grass was cast 'before a ploughing ox'.

# Chapter XXXIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whose tongue a worm ever gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the

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[1] Destur Hoshangji suggests that this may be the name of some Greek, noted for his laziness, or neglect of duty; and no doubt, such a name as *Δαναός* might be proposed; but it should be recollected that the name is very indeterminate, as the Pahlavî characters with which it is written, admit of 648 different readings, theoretically; moreover, neglect of good works is a sin more likely to be attributed to a co-religionist than to an infidel.

This tale of Davânôs, or Danâvôs, may be traced to the thirteenth, or Spend, Nask, as appears from the following passage from the Pahlavî Rivâyat: *chîgûn yîn Spend, madam gabrâ-I, val Zaratûhasht namûḏ, aîgh hamâk hanâm yîn anâkîh yehevûnḏ, va ragelman aê bîrûno yehevûnḏ. Zaratûhasht, madam zak babâ, min Aûharmazd pûrsîḏ. Aûharmazd gûft aîgh: Zak gabrâ aê, Davânas shem, madam XXXIII matâ pâḏakhshah yehevûnḏ; afash akaraz hîch kirfak lâ varzîḏ, barâ hangâm-I, amatash pavan zak ragelman-I, vavâstar (?) frâz gôspend yedrûnḏ.* 'As in the Spend *nask*, it was shown to Zaratûsht, regarding a certain man, that all his limbs were in torment, and one foot was exempt. Zaratûsht asked Aûharmazd the reason of it. Aûharmazd said thus: That man, named Davânas, was ruler over thirty-three countries; and he never practised any good work, but once, when he conveyed fodder (?) to a sheep with that foot.

'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, spoke many lies and false-'hoods; 6 and, thereby, much harm and injury were *diffused* among '*all* creatures'.

## Chapter XXXIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 whose whole body the noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, dressed her hair-curls 'and hair [1] over the fire; 6 and threw hairs *from the head* and scurf [2] 'and hair of the body upon the fire; 7 and introduced fire under the 'body [3], and held herself on the fire'.

## Chapter XXXV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever chewed with her teeth, and ever ate, her own dead refuse.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman, by whom, in the world, sorcery was 'practised'.

## Chapter XXXVI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who stood up, in hell, in the form [4] of a serpent like a column; 3 and his head was like unto a human head, and the remaining body, unto a serpent.

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[1] The reading of the Pahlavî text is rather uncertain.

[2] Or 'vermin'.

[3] Nowadays the Parsis do not consider it wrong to heat, or foment, the body and limbs over the fire. [Dest.] This passage may, however, refer to scorching hairs off the body, or even to burning the body itself.

[4] Or 'manner'.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed apostacy; 7 and 'he fled into hell, *in* the form of a serpent'.

## Chapter XXXVII.

1 I also saw the souls of several men and several women 2 who were suspended, head downwards, in hell; 3 and snakes and scorpions and other noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever gnawed all their bodies.

4 And I asked thus: 'Of which people are these souls?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those people, by whom, in the world, water and fire were 'not cared for, 7 and corruption was brought to water and fire, and 'fire was extinguished intentionally'[1].

## Chapter XXXVIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom they ever gave to eat, the flesh and dead refuse of mankind, with blood and filth, and other corruption and stench.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, brought bodily refuse and 'dead matter to water and fire and his own body and those also of '*other* men; 6 and he was always carrying *the dead* alone[2], and *was* 'polluted; 7 he also did not wash *himself* in *this* occupation'.

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[1] Or perhaps, 'by looking' at it, with the evil eye.

[2] The term *khadûk-bar* is also technically extended to all who neglect *sag-dîd*, or *paîvand*, or any other observance, or abstinence, appointed with regard to the dead. It is the *iristô-kasha* of Vend. III. 15, or one who carries the dead in an unlawful manner; which must be carefully distinguished from the *nasu-kasha* of Vend. VIII. 11—13, Pahl. *nasâ-sâlâr*, who carries the dead with all the prescribed observances and precautions. [Dest.]

## Chapter XXXIX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who ever ate the skin and flesh of men.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is 'the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the wages 'of laborers, and the shares of partners; 6 and now the soul must suffer 'severe punishment'.

## Chapter XL.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who ever carried a mountain on his back; 3 and in snow and cold, he had that mountain upon *his* back.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man, by whom, in the world, falsehood and ir-'reverence and depreciating words were much spoken about people; '7 and now his soul ever suffers the punishment of such severe frost'.

## Chapter XLI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom they gave excrement and dead refuse and corruption to eat; 3 and the demons ever beat *him* with stones and axes.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who was at the warm baths which many 'have frequented, 7 and he carried their bodily refuse and dead matter 'to water and fire and earth; 8 and the pious went in, and came out 'wicked' [1].

[1] That is, 'contaminated' by the impurity of the place. The *darvand*, 'wicked', is the infidel who does not keep the Zoroastrian law.

## Chapter XLII.

1 I also saw the souls of several people 2 whom they cause to weep; and they ever make piteous cries.

3 And I asked thus: 'Which people are these?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those who had a father in their mother[1]; 6 and when they 'were born, the father did not acknowledge *them;* 7 and now they 'ever make lamentation for a father'.

## Chapter XLIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 at whose feet several children fell, and ever screamed; 3 and demons, just like dogs, ever fell upon and tore *him.*

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, did not acknowledge his 'own children'.

## Chapter XLIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever dug into a hill with her own breasts; 3 and ever held, on her head, a mill-stone like a cap.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the

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[1] This sentence and the next can be translated in various ways, but all seem to imply that this chapter treats of illegitimate children, though it is not very clear why their misfortune should doom them to hell, unless we read: 'the father was not acknowledged *by them*', in the next sentence.

'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, destroyed her own in-'fant, and threw away the corpse'.

## Chapter XLV.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 all whose limbs were ever gnawed by a worm.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed perjury; 6 and 'he extorted wealth from the good, and gave it to the bad'.

## Chapter XLVI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who holds human skulls in his hands, and ever eats the brains [1].

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man whose wealth, in the world, was not *acquired* 'by honesty, but was stolen from the property of others; 6 and it 'was left by him among his own enemies, 7 and only he himself must 'be in hell'.

## Chapter XLVII.

1 I also saw many people 2 whose heads and beards were shaved, and complexion yellow, and the whole body rotten, and noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever crept *upon them.*

3 And I asked thus: 'Who and which are these?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those people who, in the world, have been apostates and

[1] Compare Mkh. II. 48—49: 'since it is said, that: Whoever eats anything, not from his own regular industry, but from another, he is such-like as one who holds in hand men's heads and eats men's brains'.

'deceivers; 6 and men were ever ruined by them, and led away from 'the law of virtue to the law of evil; 7 and many religions and impro-'per creeds were made current in the world'.

## Chapter XLVIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. 3 That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not; 4 but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly and thighs of the man.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the food of the 'dogs of shepherds and householders; or beat and killed them'.

## Chapter XLIX.

1 I also saw the souls of several men 2 who ever devoured the excrement and bodily refuse and dead matter and corruption of mankind; 3 and the demons dug up stones, and ever threw them from behind, 4 till a mountain of them was carried on their backs, and they were not able to support it.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, 'whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, land was measured [1], 'and measured false; 8 and many people were rendered unsettled [2] and 'unproductive, so that they came to want and poverty; 9 and it was 'ever necessary to contribute heavy taxes'.

## Chapter L.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who ever dug into a hill with

[1] Literally: 'weighed'.

[2] Or 'unsupported'.

his fingers and nails; 3 and demons ever beat and frightened him, from behind, with darting [1] serpents.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, removed the boundary-'stones of others, and took them as his own'.

## Chapter LI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who was ever given to eat of the flesh which was ever dragged from his body with an iron comb.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, made false covenants 'with men'.

## Chapter LII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 to whom they ever applied pricking [2] spurs and arrows and stones and axes.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is 'the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed many 'breaches of promise, 6 and broke promises with the pious and with 'the wicked; 7 for both are promises, alike with the pious, and alike 'with the wicked' [3].

## Chapter LIII.

1 And afterwards, Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, took hold

[1] See XXVIII. 2.

[2] See the note to XXVIII. 2.

[3] See the Mihir Yasht, 2. It should be remembered that the 'wicked' include all members of other religious communities, as well as the sinful Mazdayasnians.

of my hand; 2 and I was carried on to Chakât-i-Dâîtîh, below the Chinvat bridge, into a desert; 3 and was shown hell in the earth of the middle of that desert, below the Chinvat bridge.

4 The groaning and cries of Akharman and the demons and demonesses and many other [1] souls of the wicked, came so, from that place, 5 that I was frightened, because I considered that they would shake the seven regions of the earth which heard that noise and groaning. 6 And I entreated Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, 7 thus: 'Carry me not here, but turn back'.

8 And then, Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said to me 9 thus: 'Fear not! since there is no danger whatever for thee from here'. 10 And in front, went Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel; 11 and in the rear, fearlessly, I, Ardâî Vîrâf, went on further into that gloomy hell

## Chapter LIV.

1 And I saw the darkest hell, which is pernicious, dreadful, terrible, very painful, mischievous and foul-smelling. 2 And after further observation, it appeared to me [2] 3 as a pit, to the bottom of which, a thousand cubits would not reach; 4 and though all the wood which is in the world, were all put on to the fire in the most stinking and gloomy hell, it would never emit a smell; 5 and again also, *as close* [3] as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, 6 so *close and* many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, 7 but they see not and hear no sound, one from the other; 8 everyone thinks thus [4]: 'I am alone'. 9 And for them are the gloom of darkness, and the stench and fearfulness of the torment and punishment of hell, of

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[1] That is, besides those already described.

[2] Literally: 'and after I have reflected, it seemed thus'.

[3] Such appears to be the meaning of the Pahlavî text, as it now stands, but it may perhaps be corrupt.

[4] Literally: 'considers in this *manner*, that'.

various kinds; 10 so that whoever is only a day in hell, cries out 11 thus: 'Are not those nine thousand years yet completed, when they 'should release us from this hell?'

## Chapter LV.

1 Then I saw the souls of the wicked who died, and ever suffer torment and punishment, in that dreadful, dark place of punishment of various kinds, such as driving snow, and severe cold, and the heat of brisk-burning fire, and foul stench, and stone and ashes, hail and rain, and many other evils.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of 'these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked people, by whom, in the world, mortal sin 'was much committed, 5 and the Bahrâm (*most sacred*) fire was extin-'guished, and a bridge of a rapid river was demolished; 6 and false-'hood and irreverence were spoken, and much false evidence was given. '7 And their desire was anarchy; and because of *their*[1] greediness and 'avarice and lust and wrath and envy, the innocent, pious man was 'slain; 8 and they have proceeded very deceitfully. 9 Now the soul 'must suffer such severe torment and punishment'.

## Chapter LVI.

1 Then I saw the souls of those whom serpents stung and ever gnawed.

2 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are those?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are

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[1] It is uncertain how many of the nouns which follow, are connected with the postposition *râî*, 'because of'; as some of the earlier ones may be intended to be coupled with the foregoing noun, 'anarchy'.

'the souls of those wicked who, in the world, have been defrauders [1] 'of their God and religion'.

## Chapter LVII.

1 I also saw the souls of women whose heads were cut off and separated from the body, and the tongue ever kept crying.

2 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are those [2] of these?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those women who, in the world, made much lamentation 'and weeping [3], and beat the head and face'.

## Chapter LVIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man 2 whom the draggers drag to hell and ever beat.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, often washed his head 'and face, and dirty hands, and other pollution of his limbs, in large 'standing waters and fountains and streams, 6 and distressed Horvadaḍ [4], 'the archangel'.

## Chapter LIX.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever wept, and ever tore [5] and ate the skin and flesh from her own breasts.

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[1] This appears to refer to the misappropriation of religious endowments; see also Mkh. XXXVI. 13: 'who will devour a thing which is received in his custody, and becomes an embezzler'.

[2] Pointing them out of a number of others.

[3] That is, for the dead; outward tokens of mourning being justly considered as a selfish sin.

[4] The special protector of water.

[5] Literally: 'dug'.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who left her own infant crying on account 'of want and hunger'.

## Chapter LX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whose body remains set into a brazen caldron; and they ever cook it. 3 One foot, which is the right one, remained outside the caldron.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, among the living, lustfully[1] and im-'properly, went much out to married women; 7 and his whole body 'became sinful. 8 But with that right foot, the frog and ant, snake 'and scorpion, and other noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) were much 'smitten and killed and destroyed'.

## Chapter LXI.

1 I also saw the souls of those wicked 2 who swallowed and voided, and again swallowed and voided.

3 And I asked thus: 'What souls are those of these?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked who, in the world, believed not in the spirit, '6 and they have been unthankful[2] in the religion of the creator Aûhar-'mazd. 7 They have been doubtful of the happiness which is in heaven, 'and the torment which is in hell, and about the reality of the resur-'rection of the dead and the future body'.

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[1] Literally: 'with the lustfulness of the living'; but the construction is doubtful.

[2] Meaning, probably, that they had not uttered the appointed thanksgivings and invocations.

## Chapter LXII.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever gashed her own bosom and breasts with an iron comb.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, despised her husband 'and master [1], and became and remained vile; 6 being also herself 'untrue to him, she acted improperly with other men'.

## Chapter LXIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever licked a hot oven with her tongue, 3 and ever burnt her own hand under the oven.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, offered defiance [2] to her 'own husband and master, and became abusive [3]; 7 she also acted 'disobediently, and did not grant cohabitation at his desire; 8 and she 'stole property from her husband, and secretly formed a hoard for 'herself'.

## Chapter LXIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever came and went crying and wailing; 3 upon her head also, ever came pelting hail; 4 and under foot, hot, molten brass ever streamed; 5 and she ever gashes her own head and face, with a knife.

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[1] Or 'guardian'.

[2] More literally: 'made justificatory replies'.

[3] Literally: 'dog-tongued', somewhat analogous to 'snarling' and 'snappish'.

6 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, when 'the soul ever suffers so severe a punishment?'

7 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 8 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, undutifully, became pregnant from 'other men, 9 and she effected the destruction of the infant. 10 Because 'of the pain and punishment, she fancies that she hears the cry of that 'infant, and she runs; 11 and such vehemence of running is occasioned, 'as of one who walks upon hot brass; 12 and she ever hears the cry 'of that infant, and gashes her own head and face with a knife, and 'demands the child, 13 but she sees it not till the re-establishment *of 'the world*[1]; this punishment she must suffer'.

## Chapter LXV.

1 I also saw several souls 2 whose chests were plunged in mud and stench, 3 and a sharp sickle ever went among their legs and other limbs; 4 and they ever called for a father and mother.

5 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls? 6 and what sin was 'committed by them, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

7 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 8 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked who, in the world, distressed their father 'and mother; 9 and asked no absolution and forgiveness from their 'father and mother, in the world'.

## Chapter LXVI.

1 I also saw the souls of a man and a woman 2 whose tongues were put out, and ever gnawed by the jaws of serpents[2].

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of 'these? 4 and who are those souls?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are

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[1] Compare ch. LXXXVII.

[2] Or perhaps: 'the jaws were ever gnawed by serpents'.

'the souls of those who, in the world, ever committed slander[1], and 'embroiled people together'.

## Chapter LXVII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who was suspended by one leg in the darkness of hell[2]; 3 and he had an iron sickle in his hand, and ever gashed his own chest and armpits[3], 4 and an iron spike was driven into his eye.

5 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this? and what sin was 'committed by him?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man, to whom a city was confided for administra-'tion; 8 and that which was proper to do and order, was not done and 'not ordered; 9 and deficient weights and measures of capacity and 'length, were kept, 10 and he listened to no complaints from the poor 'and from travellers'[4].

## Chapter LXVIII.

1 I also saw the souls of a man and a woman 2 whom they ever drag, the man to heaven and the woman to hell. 3 And the woman's hand was caught in the knot and sacred thread of the man, 4 and she said thus: 'How is it when we had every benefit in union, among the 'living, 5 now they are dragging thee to heaven, and me to hell?'

6 And the man said thus: 'Because whatever things I received of 'the good and worthy[5] and the poor, I also gave *them back*[6]; 7 and 'I practised good thoughts and good words and good deeds; 8 I also

[1] Literally: 'acted slanderously'.

[2] Or 'the hell of darkness', as the MSS. stand.

[3] Or 'loins'.

[4] Literally: 'caravan people'; generally travelling merchants, foreign traders and travellers; see also ch. LXVIII. and XCIII.

[5] One Pâz. MS. adds 'and travellers', as in sentence 10.

[6] The meaning of this sentence, in the original text, is not quite certain.

'heeded God, and disregarded the demons; 9 and I have been stead-'fast in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 10 But thou despisedst 'the good and poor and worthy and travellers; 11 thou also disregardedst 'God, and thou worshipedst idols; 12 and practisedst evil thoughts and 'evil words and evil deeds; 13 and thou hast been steadfast in the re-'ligion of Akharman and the demons'.

14 Then the woman said to the man 15 thus: 'Among the living, 'thou thyself wast completely [1] lord and sovereign over me; 16 and my 'body and life and soul were thine; 17 and the food and income [2] and 'clothing which I had, were from thee; 18 then wherefore didst thou 'not chastise and punish me for it? 19 Thou hast not even taught *me*, 'the reason of thy goodness and excellence, 20 whereby thou mightest 'have caused goodness and excellence in me, 21 and so now it would 'not be necessary to suffer this evil'.

22 And afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. 23 And owing to the repentance of that woman, she was in no other affliction, in hell, but darkness and stench. 24 And that man sat in the midst of the pious of heaven, in shame from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping [3].

## Chapter LXIX.

1 I also saw the souls of women, 2 into both whose eyes a wooden peg was driven, 3 tied by one leg, head downwards. 4 And many frogs, scorpions, snakes, ants, flies, worms and other noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) went and came inside their jaws, noses, ears, posteriors and sexual parts.

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[1] Literally: 'all thyself was'.

[2] The Huz. *yâîtûnishn* may stand either for *âmadishn*, or for *âvarishn*, in Pâzand; its meaning must, therefore, be the same as that of Pers. آمدنی, or آوردنی.

[3] The construction of the original text is obscure.

5 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? 6 and what sin was 'committed by them, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

7 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 8 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked women who had a husband in the world, '9 and slept and granted cohabitation with another man; 10 and the bed 'of the husband was kept defiled, and his body injured'.

## Chapter LXX.

1 I also saw the souls of women whom they threw head downwards; 2 and *something* like a hedgehog, which had iron spines grown from it, was introduced into the body and dropped back; 3 and from it, a finger dropping the semen of the demons and demonesses, which is stench and corruption, ever went into the inside of the jaws and nose.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are those souls, who suffer such a 'punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked women who, in the world, broke promises 'to their husbands, 7 and they have stayed away from the husband, 'and been never contented, and granted no cohabitation'.

## Chapter LXXI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom the fangs of serpents stung and ever gnawed; 3 and in both eyes, snakes and worms ever voided; 4 and an iron spike was grown [1] upon the tongue.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man, by whom sodomy was much committed; '8 and through a desire for improper lust, he debauched the wives of 'others. 9 And his smooth speaking deceived and seduced the wives 'of others, and separated them from their husbands'.

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[1] Or perhaps: 'scraped'.

## Chapter LXXII.

1 I also saw the souls of women, by whom their own menstrual discharge was ever devoured.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of 'these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those women who heeded not their menstruation, 5 and 'injured water and fire and the earth of Spendarmad and Horvadad and 'Amerôdad, 6 and looked upon the sky and the sun and the moon, 7 and 'injured cattle and sheep with their menstruation, 8 and kept the pious 'man polluted'.

## Chapter LXXIII.

1 I also saw the souls of women 2 who ever shed and sucked and ate the blood and filth of their ten fingers; 3 and worms ever came into both eyes.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls? 5 and what sin was 'committed by them who suffer so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked women who beautified their faces, and kept 'the hair of others as ornament; 8 and they captivated the eyes of the 'men of God'[1].

## Chapter LXXIV.

1 I also saw the souls of those who remained tied, head downwards, by one leg; 2 and a knife was driven into their hearts.

3 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, beasts, cattle and 'sheep were unlawfully slaughtered and killed'.

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[1] This is an uncommon phrase, and the Pâzand MS. $H_{18}$ has therefore read it 'men of the world'.

## Chapter LXXV.

1 I also saw souls who were thrown under the feet of cattle, 2 struck by the horns, and their bellies torn, and bones broken; and they were groaning.

3 And I asked thus: 'Who are these people?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, the mouths of 'beasts and ploughing cattle were muzzled; 6 and water was not given 'to them in the heat; and they were kept at work hungry and thirsty'.

## Chapter LXXVI.

1 I also saw the souls of women who ever lacerated their own breasts with their own hands and teeth; 2 and dogs ever tore and ate their bellies; 3 and both feet stood on hot brass.

4 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? and what sin wa 'committed by them?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked women who, in the world, prepared food 'during menstruation, 7 and brought it before a pious man, and bade 'him eat. 8 They also ever resorted to sorcery; 9 and they injured 'the earth of Spendarmad and the pious man'.

## Chapter LXXVII.

1 Then I saw souls whose backs, hands and legs had wounds, 2 and they were suspended with the posteriors to the face[1]; 3 and heavy stones ever rained on their backs.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are those? and what sin was com'mitted by them?'

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[1] This sentence can also be read: 'head downwards in melted brass'; but the form *avîtakht*, for 'melted', is unusual.

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked who had beasts in the world, 7 and ap-'pointed them hard work, and made the burden unlawfully heavy, 8 and 'gave no sufficiency of food, so they suffered through leanness; 9 and '*when* sores ensued, they were not kept back from work, and no re-'medy was provided. 10 Now they (*the souls*) must suffer such severe 'punishment'.

## Chapter LXXVIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever dug an iron hill with her breasts; 3 and an infant cried from that side of the hill, and the cry ever continued; 4 but the infant comes not to the mother, nor the mother to the infant.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, became pregnant, not 'from her own husband, but from another person; 8 and she said thus: "I have not been pregnant". 9 She also destroyed the infant'.

## Chapter LXXIX.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man, 2 both whose eyes were scooped out, and his tongue cut away; 3 and he remained suspended, in hell, by one leg; 4 his body also was ever raked with the two brazen prongs of a fork; 5 and an iron spike was driven into his head [1].

6 And I asked thus: 'What man is this? and what sin was com-'mitted by him?'

7 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 8 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man whose justice, in the world, was false; 9 and 'he took bribes, and made false decisions'.

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[1] Or 'his heart', as the Pahlavî word can be read either *sar*, or *dîl*.

## Chapter LXXX.

1 Then I saw the souls of several who remained suspended, head downwards, in hell; 2 and they force the blood, filth and brains of men into their mouths, and convey excrement into their noses [1]; 3 and they [2] ever cry thus: 'We keep just measures'.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are these bodies? and what sin was 'committed by them?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, weights and bushels 'and other small measures were kept short, 7 and things were sold 'to men'.

## Chapter LXXXI.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman whose tongue was cut away, and eyes scooped out; 2 and snakes, scorpions, worms and other noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever devoured the brain of her head; 3 and from time to time, she seized her own body with the teeth, and ever gnawed the flesh.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who was, in her lifetime, an adulteress. '7 She also practised much sorcery; and much mischief emanated 'from her'.

## Chapter LXXXII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a certain woman whose tongue was plucked out [3].

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[1] Or perhaps: 'convey them into their noses'.

[2] Perhaps meaning the tormentors, and not the souls; as also in the preceding sentence.

[3] The text is doubtful; it may mean: 'whose tongues were many', but that would not be a very intelligible punishment, although a good illustration of this woman's fault.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman whose tongue, in the world, was sharp; '5 and her husband and master was much troubled by her tongue'.

## Chapter LXXXIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever ate her own dead refuse.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, ate much meat con-'cealed from her husband, 5 and gave it to another person'[1].

## Chapter LXXXIV.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman 2 whose breasts they cut off; and her belly was torn, and the entrails given to the dogs.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman, by whom, in the world, poison and oil[2] 'of opium were made and kept[3], 6 and given by her to people to eat'.

## Chapter LXXXV.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman, 2 on whose body they construct an iron coating, 3 and they turn back the mouth, and put it back to a hot oven[4].

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[1] This is altered in some Pâzand MSS., as follows: 'who, among the living, stole the property of others, and gave the food, which her husband bought, to another person'.

[2] Perhaps: 'liquor', or 'infusion'.

[3] Or 'were kept prepared'.

[4] This obscure description may refer to some old Persian torture which is, luckily, now unknown.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who was, among the living, the wife of a 'well-disposed, intelligent man; 7 and she broke her faith to her hus-'band, and slept with a sinful and ill-disposed man'.

## Chapter LXXXVI.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman, 2 through whose body a grievous [1] snake ascended, and came forth by the mouth.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'where the soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: [2] ['This is 'the soul of that wicked woman who violated a next-of-kin marriage'.

## Chapter LXXXVII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever scraped her own body and face with an iron comb, 3 and ever dug an iron hill with her breasts.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus:] 'This is 'the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, committed a crime, '7 and through a desire for wealth, gave no milk to her own infant. 8 And now she ever makes an outcry thus: "Here let me dig into "this hill, that I may give milk to that infant". 9 Yet until the 'reestablishment *of the world*, she does not reach the infant'.

## Chapter LXXXVIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man 2 who remained suspended,

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[1] Or perhaps: 'prickly'.

[2] In all the MSS., except $H_{18}$, the passage in brackets is omitted, and the former part of this chapter is united with the latter part of the next, although the connection of the narrative is not very obvious.

head downwards, from a gibbet, and ever had sexual intercourse; 3 and they dropped semen into his mouth and ears and nose.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed improper sexual 'intercourse; 7 and deceived and seduced the wives of others'.

## Chapter LXXXIX.

1 Then I saw the souls of those who, on account of weakness, were dashed about from side to side in hell; 2 and they ever kept crying on account of thirst and hunger, cold and heat; 3 and noxious creatures (*khrafstars*) ever bit out of the back of their legs and other limbs.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by those of these 'souls, who suffer so severe a punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked whose food and clothing, in the world, were 'consumed by themselves, 7 and not given by them to the good and 'worthy; and they exercised no liberality whatever; 8 and they kept 'themselves, and the people who had come and remained under their 'control, hungry and thirsty and without clothing; 9 so they suffered 'cold and heat, hunger and thirst. 10 Now they are dead, and their 'wealth has remained for others; 11 now the souls suffer so severe a 'punishment from their own actions' [1].

## Chapter XC.

1 Then I saw the souls of those whom serpents sting and ever devour their tongues.

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[1] The singular number is used, in the original, throughout these last two sentences, which may be more literally rendered as follows: 'Now it has passed away, and the wealth has remained for another person, now the soul suffers so severe a punishment from its own actions'.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by those, whose 'soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those liars and irreverent [1] speakers who, in the world, 'spoke much falsehood and lies and profanity' [2].

## Chapter XCI.

2 Then I saw the soul of a man who slew his own child and ever ate the brains.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that sentencing judge who made unjust decisions between ap-'plicants for justice; 5 and plaintiffs and defendants were not looked 'upon, by him, favorably and justly; 6 but through a desire of wealth 'and covetousness, he shouted at suitors with anger and severity'.

## Chapter XCII.

1 Then I saw the souls of those, into whose eye a wooden peg was driven.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of 'these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those malicious ones who kept back benefits from mankind'.

## Chapter XCIII.

1 I also saw the souls of those who were fallen, headlong, into hell; 2 and smoke and heat were driven upon them from below, and a cold wind from above.

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[1] Or 'untruthful', if *arâst* be read instead of *anâst*.

[2] Or perhaps: 'untruth'.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, 'whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those who, in the world, gave no place, nor caravanserai 'for travellers, nor lodging, nor space, nor baking oven; 6 or who 'gave them, and took hire for them'.

## Chapter XCIV.

1 Then I saw the souls of those whose own breasts were placed upon a hot frying-pan, by their own hands, 2 and were ever turned from side to side.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these women, 'whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those women who gave their own infants no milk, but 'emaciated and destroyed them; 6 and for worldly gain, gave milk to 'the infants of others'.

## Chapter XCV.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever dug a hill with her breasts, 2 and was ever thirsty and hungry.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked woman who gave her infant no milk, 6 but left 'it hungry and thirsty; 7 and herself went with a strange man through 'a liking for avarice, and a lust for illicit intercourse'.

## Chapter XCVI.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man whose tongue was cut out; 2 and they ever drag him by the hair, and scatter about the dead refuse [1], and measure it with a bushel.

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[1] Probably the hair pulled out by the roots.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this man, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, took seed, 6 and said 'thus: 'I will sow it'; and he sowed it not, 7 but ate it; and the earth 'of Spendarmad was defrauded'.

## Chapter XCVII.

1 Then I saw the souls of a man and a woman whose tongues were cut out.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, 'whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of that wicked man and woman who, among the living, spoke 'much falsehood and profanity [1], 5 and deceived their own souls'.

## Chapter XCVIII.

1 Then I saw the souls of a woman and a man who voided and ate up *the excrement.*

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, 'whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are 'the souls of that wicked man and woman who, in the world, devoured 'dead refuse through sinfulness; 5 and killed the water-otter [2] in the 'water, 6 and smote and slew other creatures of Aûharmazd'.

## Chapter XCIX.

1 And I saw as many more souls of wicked men and women;

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[1] Or 'untruth', if *arâst* be read.

[2] The *udra upâpa* of Vend. XIII. 16, 51. XIV. 1. [Dest.] In the latter fargard, very severe penalties are attached to the crime of seriously injuring this animal.

2 and they ever suffer terrible, fearful, hurtful, harmful, painful, dark, hellish torment and punishment of various kinds.

3 Then I saw souls whose tongues were scraped with a wooden peg; 4 and they ever went down, into hell, head foremost; 5 and the demons ever ploughed their whole bodies with an iron comb.

6 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? 7 and what sin 'was committed by them whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

8 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 9 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked who have been disobedient unto their rulers 'in the world, 10 and have been enemies of the armies and troops 'of their rulers. 11 Now they must here suffer such severe pain and 'torment and punishment'.

## Chapter C.

1 Then I saw the Evil-spirit, the deadly, the world-destroyer, whose religion is evil, 2 who ever ridiculed and mocked the wicked in hell, and said 3 thus: 'Why did you ever eat the bread of Aûhar-'mazd, and do my work? 4 and thought not of your own creator, 'but practised my will?' 5 So he ever shouted to the wicked very mockingly [1].

## Chapter CI.

1 Afterwards, Srôsh the pious and Atarô the angel took hold of my hand, 2 and brought me forth from that dark, terrible, fearful place, 3 and carried me to the eternal light, and the assembly of Aûharmazd and the archangels.

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[1] The Pâzand MS. $H_{18}$ adds the following: 'This (corruption here), the requital of their own deeds, they receive disagreeably, until the resurrection of the dead. When he sent me to his hell of retribution, I went behind Âtarô the angel, and I saw that which is called the darkest hell; and it seemed to me like a pit which was a hundred thousand lances (deep). The darkness also seemed to me such as if all the dry wood in the world, put upon the fire, would not give so much as a handful of light in that darkest hell'.

4 When I wished to offer homage before Aûharmazd. 5 And he was gracious and said thus:[1] 'A perfect servant art thou, pious Ardâî 'Vîrâf, the messenger of the Mazdayasnians; go to the material world, '6 and as thou hast seen and understood, speak truly to the worlds; '7 for I, who am Aûharmazd, am with thee; 8 everyone who speaks 'correct and true, I honor and know[2]; 9 so say to the wise'.

10 And when Aûharmazd spoke in this manner, I remained astonished, 11 for I saw a light, but I saw nobody; I also heard a voice, 12 and I understood that: 'This is Aûharmazd'.

13 And he, the creator Aûharmazd, the most munificent of spirits, said 14 thus: 'Speak thou forth, Ardâî Vîrâf, to the Mazdayasnians 'of the world, 15 thus: 'There is only one way of piety[3], the way of "the primitive religion, and the other ways are all no ways. 16 Take "ye that one way which is piety, and turn ye not from it in prosperity, "nor in adversity, nor in any way; 17 and practise good thoughts and "good words and good deeds; 18 and remain in that same religion "which, as received by him from me, Spîtâmân Zaratûsht and Vishtâsp "made current in the world; 19 and hold the proper law, but abstain "from the improper. 20 And be ye aware also of this, that cattle "are dust, and the horse is dust, and gold and silver are dust, and "the body of man is dust; 21 he alone mingles not with the dust,

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[1] $H_{18}$ substitutes the following, for the beginning of this chapter: 'Afterwards, conducted by Âtarô the angel into eternal light, I was carried up to the presence of Aûharmazd. I offered homage, and Aûharmazd, the Deity, said'.

[2] $H_{18}$ continues as follows, to the end of sentence 13: 'I, Ardâ Vîrâf, heard his words, and could see nobody, but saw a light. I fell on my knees, in prayer, and said thus: 'I am instructed by the Mazdayasnians thus: 'Go before Ardâ "Zaratûsht, as we know not whether the good works, we do among the living, "exist, or not". Then the just Aûharmazd, the Deity, the most munificent of spirits, said'.

[3] This is a translation of the Z. *aêvô pañtô yô ashahê, vîspê anyaêshãm apañtãm;* which is a phrase commonly used in the colophons of MSS., and is said to have been taken from the Hâdôkht nask. [Dest.]

"who, in the world, praises piety [1] and performs duties and good works'. '22 Perfect art thou, Ardâî Vîrâf! go and prosper; 23 since every 'purity and purification which you perform and keep, 24 and everything 'which you keep lawfully, 25 and the purification and ceremonial, when 'you perform them, in like manner, mindful of God, I know them all'.

26 And when I heard those words, I made a profound bow to the creator Aûharmazd. 27 And then, Srôsh the pious, conveyed me successfully and courageously to this carpeted place. 28 May the glory of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians be triumphant!

29 Completed in health and pleasure and joy.

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[1] Or 'holiness'; that is, recites the *ashem vohû* formula; see Hâdôkht nask I. 3. $H_{18}$ inserts here the following: '(or gives something to the pious and good). Then said Aûharmazd, to Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel, thus: 'Show him the proceedings of the performers of good actions'. I took the hands of Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel, and they went forward to the end of the Chînvat bridge, there where Rashn the just, and Mitrô the angel, and Âshtâd the angel, the victorious lord of the universe, all sat; much the most admirable of the creation, much more splendid than the sky; before them I was led. And they spoke thus: 'Say 'what thou mayst have done there, unto men, cattle, sheep, earth, trees, fire and 'water; and speak truly, for it will be necessary to pass on from here through "truth'. Then I became joyful, for the guardian angel of the pious gave evidence thus: 'He committed no sin'. Afterwards, Aûharmazd the Deity, said' *(as in sentences 22—25.)*

# Appendix I.

The tale of

## Gôsht-i Fryânô.

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# The Pahlavi text

with Transliteration and

the various readings of five MSS.

Edited by

E. W. West, Ph. D..

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# Observations.

This tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô is appended to the book of Ardâ Vîrâf, in the three MSS. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ and $K_{26}$; and it appears, by the colophons, to have been so appended in the old MS. of Mihrpanâh Srôshyâr of Nîshâpûr, whence it was copied in A. D. 1249.

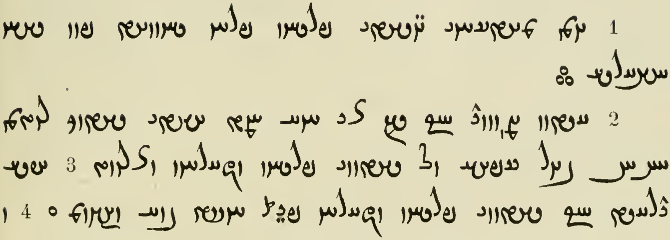
The same remarks apply to this text as to the preceding; but besides the MSS. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ and $K_{26}$, the following have been used:

$H_7$. — Dr. Haug's Pârsî-Persian MS. No. 7, dated A. Y. 1178—1179.

$L_{15}$. — the London MS., India office library, Z. and P. XV.; undated, but written about 135 years ago.

It will be observed that the name *Gôsht* is a corruption, or more probably, a mistaken pronunciation, of *Yôsht;* but as this blunder is found in the oldest existing MSS., it is retained in this transliteration of the text.

# Chapter I.



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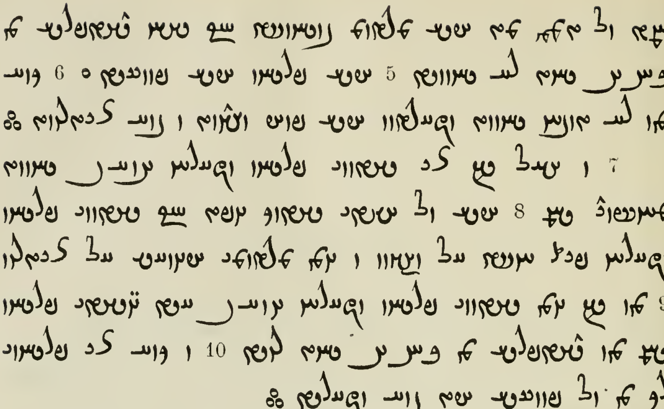
## Chapter I.

1 Denman mâḍîkân-i *Gôsht-i Fryânô* farukhû yehevûnâḍ, pavan Yadadân *aîyyârîh.*

2 Aêtûn yemalelûnd aîgh: yîn zak *anâ* amat *Akht-i* yâtûk, levatman VII bêvar sipâh, val shatrô-i Frashnô-vajârânŏ vazlûnḍ, 3 afash drâîḍ aîgh: Shatrô-i Frashnô-vajârân pîl *khûst* barâ vâdûnam. 4 Va

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I. 1, 3—4. Z. *Yôishtô yô Fryananãm,* Yasht V. 81, XIII. 120; $H_7$ کوشت پریان; out of 53 occurrences of this name, $K_{26}$ omits د once, and $L_{15}$ ten times; and $H_6$ omits the final [illegible] four times, $K_{20}$ fifteen, $K_{26}$ five, and $L_{15}$ ten times. 1, 9. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 2, 6. $H_7$ عهد; perhaps a miswriting of [illegible], or [illegible], as it would be hazardous to connect it with Chald. עֹונָא, or with Pers. خره 'an attack'. 2, 8. Z. *Akhtyô,* Yasht V. 82; out of 28 occurrences of this name, $K_{20}$ omits د six times, and $L_{15}$ twice; $H_7$ اخد جادو. 3, 8. Pers. خوست 'a beaten road'; $H_7$ هوشت, Pers. پرسش.

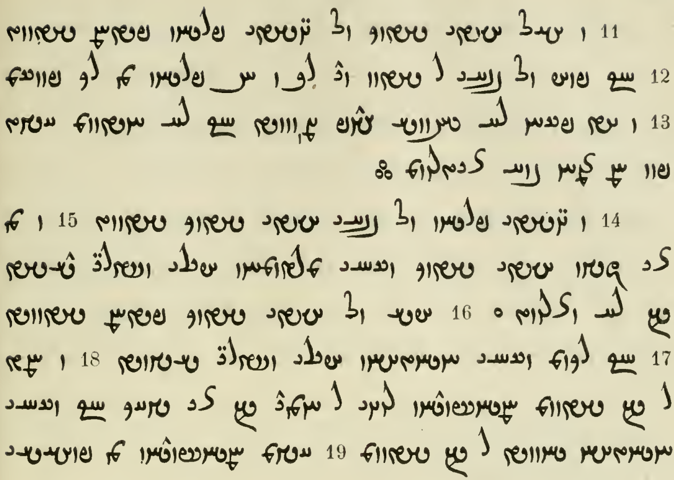


amat val tamman maḍ, afash marḍûm *bavîhûnast*, *aîgh Yadadân dâḍ-parish* min XV *shanat* lâ yehevûnêḍ; 5 afash *frashnô* azash pûrsîḍ. 6 Kolâ mûn lâ tûbân yehevûnḍ vajârḍanŏ, afash frâz vakhdûnḍ va barâ zektelûnḍ.

7 Va akhar, yîn zak shatrô-i Frashnô-vajârân, gabrâ-I yehevûnḍ, Mârspend shem; 8 afash val Akht-i yâtûk gûft aîgh: Shatrô-i Frashnô-vajârân pîl khûst al vâdûnŏ, va denman marḍûm-i avî-vanâs al zektelûn; 9 *mûn* yîn denman Shatrô-i Frashnô-vajârân, gabrâ-I aît, Gôsht-i Fryânô shem, mûn dâḍ-parish min XV shanat lôît; 10 va kolâ zak frashnô-i lak *min val* pûrsîh, afat barâ vajârêḍ.

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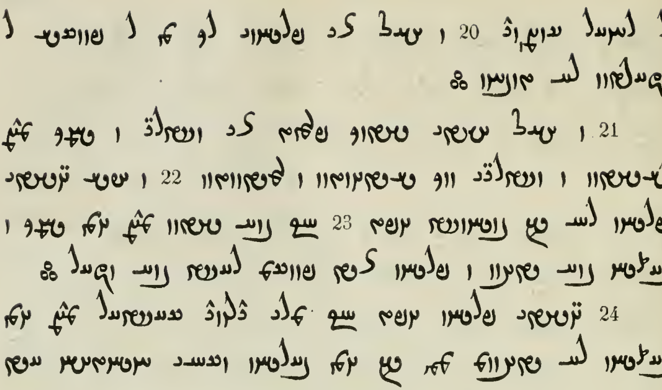
I. 4, 8. H₆, K₂₆ . 4, 9—10. H₇ کوشان; L₁₅ . 4, 11. uncertain; H₇ ورش داد, Pers. عمر; but compare Pers. فرش, پرش, پریش, فریش, پرویش, or فرویش. 4, 14. K₂₀ . 5, 2. Z. *frashna*, Yasht V. 82; out of 49 occurrences of this word, H₆ omits the final  9 times, K₂₀ 17, K₂₆ 12, and L₁₅ 11 times; H₇ پرسشن. 9, 1. so in all, and it may be so read as a continuation of the preceding sentence; but it is more probably miswritten for , or , and to be read in connection with what follows. 10, 6. K₂₀ om. 10, 7. for ; K₂₀ om.



11 Va akhar, Akht-i yâtûk val Gôsht-i Fryânô pêtkham *shedûnd*, 12 aîgh: Frâz val babâ-i li yâtûn, vad *XXX va III* frashnô min lak pûrsam; 13 va hat pasakhô lâ yehabûnîh, *khadûf* yemalelûnêd aîgh: Lâ khavîtûnam, *adînat* pavan ham zamân barâ zektelûnam.

14 Va Gôsht-i Fryânô val babâ-i Akht-i yâtûk yâtûnd; 15 va min zak, *chîgûn* Akht-i yâtûk nasâî-i mardûmânŏ azîr-i vastarg dâsht, yîn lâ vazlûnd. 16 Afash val Akht-i yâtûk pêtkham shedûnêd 17 aîgh: Lekûm nasâî-i *anshûtâânŏ* azîr-i vastarg yakhsenunêd; 18 va amat li yîn yâtûnam, *ameshôspendânŏ* levîn-i li hômand, yîn zak jînâk aîgh nasâî-i *anshûtâân* yehevûnêd, li yîn yâtûnam; 19 adînam ameshôspendânŏ min panâhîh-i

I. 11, 9. all but $K_{26}$ have [illegible] for [illegible]. 12, 8—10. in Yasht V. 82, the number is 99; $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit [illegible]. 13, 6. *khad* substituted for *ay*. 13, 11. [illegible] in all. 15, 4. $H_6$ omits final [illegible]; $H_7$ چند. 17, 4. [illegible] in all but $K_{20}$. 18, 6. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 18, 15. [illegible] in all but $K_{20}$.



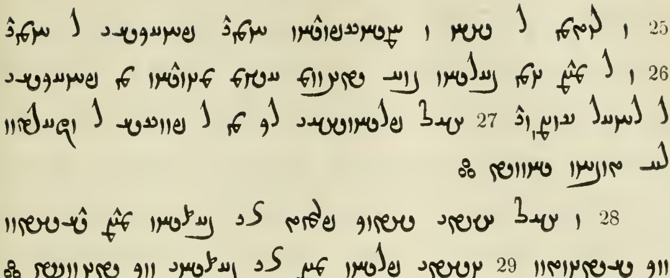
li lakhvâr yekavîmûnd; 20 va akhar, zak frashnô-i lak min li pûrsîh, li vajârḏanŏ lâ *tûbânŏ.*

21 Va akhar, Akht-i yâtûk farmûḏ zak vastarg *va* jâmak madam dâshtanŏ, va vastarg-i navak yâîtyûntanŏ va ramîtûntanŏ; 22 *va afash* Gôsht-i Fryânô râî, yîn *bavîhûnast*, gûft 23 aîgh: Barâ yâtûn, madam denman jâmak *va* bâlishn barâ yetîbûn; va *frashnô* zyat pûrsam, râst barâ vajâr.

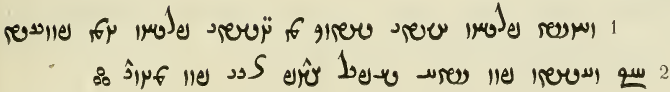
24 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: *Mar-i darvand* sâstâr! madam denman *bâlishnŏ* lâ *yetîbûnam*; maman yîn denman bâlishnŏ nasâî-i *anshûtâân* aît;

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I. 20, 12. $K_{20}$ omits final. 21, 8. $H_7$, $K_{20}$ om. 22, 1—2. $H_7$ کش. 22, 7. $H_6$, $K_{26}$, $L_{15}$. 23, 7. $H_7$, $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ om. 23, 12. $H_7$ adds سی و سه. 24, 5. Z. *mairyô;* $H_7$ Pers. مرد, apparently identifying the phrase with Z. *mashyô drvâo sâsta,* Vend. XXI. 1; in 21 places, elsewhere, $H_7$ gives the Pers. gloss راه زن 'highway robber', compare Pers. مول; out of 32 occurrences, $H_6$ omits د twice, and $L_{15}$ 9 times. 24, 6. $H_6$ adds د 6 times, $K_{20}$ 5, and $K_{26}$ 11 times out of 32. 24, 10. $K_{20}$ omits final. 24, 12. $K_{26}$ has for. 24, 18. in all but $K_{20}$.



## Chapter II.



25 va levatman *li yadadân* va *ameshôspendânŏ* hômand; pânâkîh-i li hômand; 26 va li madam denman *bâlishnŏ* barâ yetîbûnam, adînam *mînavadânŏ*, min pânâkîh-i li, lakhvâr yekavîmûnd; 27 akhar, *frashnôîhâ-i* lak min li pûrsîh, li vajârḏanŏ lâ *tûbânŏ* yehevûnêḏ.

28 *Va* akhar Akht-i yâtûk *farmûḏ*, zak bâlishnŏ madam dâshtanŏ, navak yâîtyûntanŏ; 29 Gôsht-i Fryânô madam zak *bâlishn*-i navak yetîbûnast.

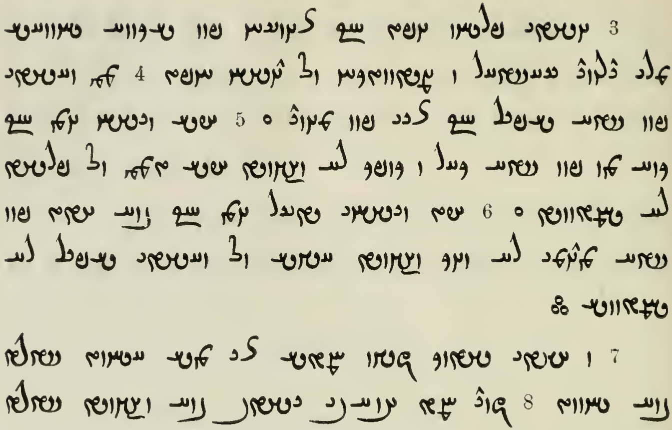
### Chapter II.

1 Nakhûst frashnô Akht-i yâtûk min Gôsht-i Fryânô denman pûrsîḏ 2 aîgh: *Vahishtô* pavan stih shapîr, *khadûf* zak-i pavan mînavad?

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I. 25, 3–4. $K_{20}$ . 25, 6. 26, 5, 9. $K_{20}$ omits final . 27, 2. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ ; $L_{15}$ . 27, 10. $K_{20}$ omits final . 28, 1. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ om. 28, 5. $K_{20}$ adds . 29, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final .

II. 2, 2. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ omit final ; and it is probably miswritten for . 2, 6. *khad* substituted for *ay*.

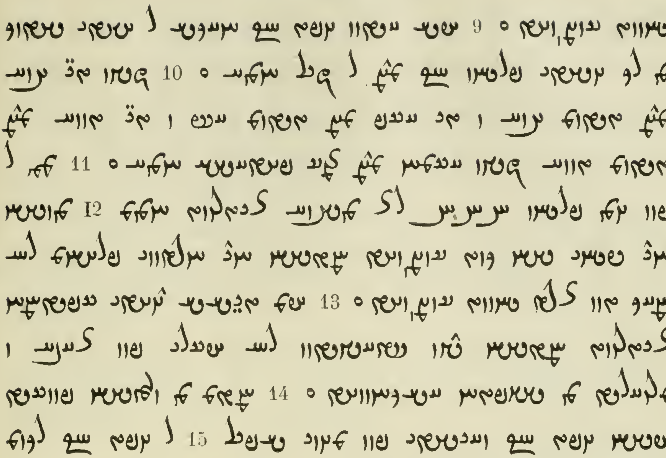


3 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: *Zîvandakân* pavan *shekônâ yehevûnâsh*, *mar-i darvand* sâstâr, *va yemîtûntakân* val dûshahû *avapat;* 4 maman vahisht-*i* pavan stih, shapîr aîgh zak-i pavan mînavad. 5 Afash nîshân denman, aîgh kolâ mûn, pavan stih, *kâr va* kirfak lâ vâdûnêḍ, azash tamman val fryâḍ lâ yâmtûnêḍ. 6 *Afat* nîshân-i *daḍîgar* denman, aîgh barâ hatat, pavan stih, mandavam-i lâ nadûk vâdûnêḍ, adînash val vahisht-*i* shapîr lâ yâmtûnîh.

7 *Va* Akht-i yâtûk, chîgûn amatash zak milayâ ashnûḍ, stareḍ *barâ yehevûnḍ*, 8 *chand amat gabrâ-I-i yesht-I barâ vâdûnêḍ, stareḍ*

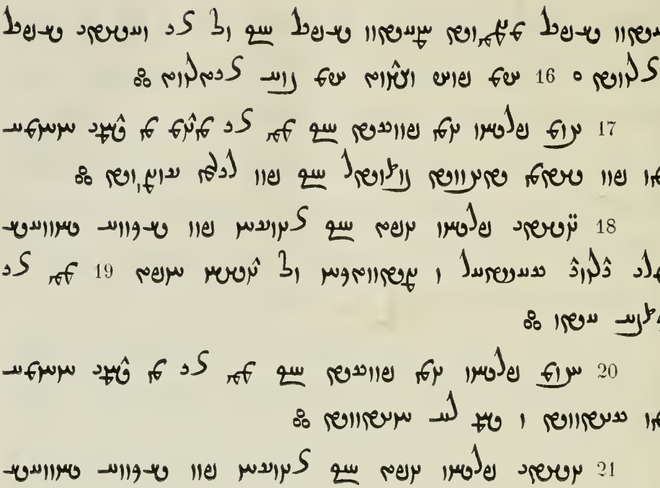
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II. 3, 5. out of 24 occurrences of this phrase, $H_6$ adds final 6 times, $K_{26}$ 9, and $L_{15}$ 3 times. 3, 7. $H_6$ omits one once, $K_{20}$ 5 times, $K_{26}$ 8, and $L_{15}$ 17 times; $K_{26}$ adds 12 times. 3, 8. compare Pers. باش. 3, 9—10. see notes on I. 24, 5—6. 3, 12. $H_6$ omits twice, $K_{20}$ 14 times, $K_{26}$ 18, and $L_{15}$ 9 times. 3, 13. $H_6$ adds final 7 times, $K_{20}$ twice, $K_{26}$ 16, and $L_{15}$ 5 times. 3, 16. or *aûft*. 4, 2. $K_{20}$ omits. 5, 9. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ om. 5, 10. only in $K_{26}$. 6, 1. $H_7$, $K_{20}$. 6, 3. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ om. 6, 16. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit. 7, 1. $K_{26}$ om. 7, 10.—8, 7. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ om. 8, 2—3. $K_{26}$; all omit.



yehevûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ. 9 Afash aêtûn *gûft* aîgh: Anâkîh li, Akht-i yâtûk, *min* lak Gôsht-i Fryânô, aîgh madam li chîr hômanih. 10 *Chîgûn* tag *gabrâ* madam tagtûm gabrâ, va tag asp madam tagtûm asp, va tag tôrâ madam tagtûm tôrâ, chîgûn âsmân madam zamîk *pâḍakhshah hômanih.* 11 Maman li, *pavan* denman frashnô, 900 môg-gabrâ zektelûnḍ hômanam, 12 mûnshân and yazishn-i Yadadân karḍ yekavîmûnâḍ, amatshân *and* khûrḍanŏ-i parâhôm râî, hamâk tanû zarḍ yehevûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ. 13 *Afam* tîshgâ dûkht-i Spîtâmân zektelûnḍ, *amatshân*, dînô stâyînîḍanŏ râî, afsar-i pavan zahabâ va *marvârîḍ* min dahyûpatân *hashkekhûnâḍ.* 14 Amatam *min* valmanshân pûrsîḍ, *afshân* gûft aîgh: *Vahîsht-i* pavan mînavad *shapîr*, 15 li gûft aîgh: Lekûm

II. 9, 3. $K_{20}$ adds final [Pahlavi]. 9, 9. $K_{20}$ om. 10, 1. $H_7$, $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 10, 3. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 10, 23. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 10, 24. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 11, 3. $H_7$ om.; $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 12, 8. $H_7$ خود. 13, 1. $H_7$ دويم. 13, 6. perhaps for [Pahlavi]. 13, 14. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 13, 17. so in all, [Pahlavi] being used for [Pahlavi]. 14, 2. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 14, 5. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 14, 8. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit medial [Pahlavi]; $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 14, 11. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi]; $L_{15}$ [Pahlavi].



*aêtûn* shapîr medammûnêḍ, *ham-aêtûn* shapîr aîgh val *zak* vahisht-i shapîr vazlûnêḍ. 16 Afam frâz vakhdûnḍ, *afam* barâ zektelûnḍ.

17 Hûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: *Maman* zak mandavam, min dâm-i Aûharmazd, mûn *pavan shatman* yetîbûnêḍ, bûlandtar aîgh pavan ragelman *yekavîmûnêḍ?*

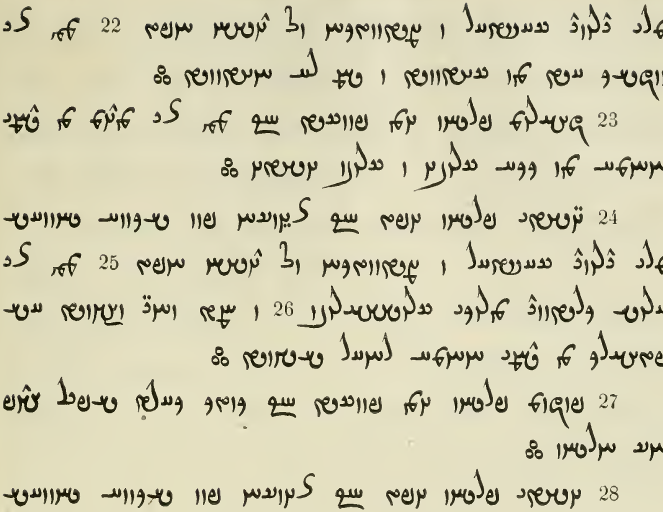
18 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 19 *maman* zak kalbâ aîtô.

20 IIIûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Maman zak, min dâm-i Aûharmazd, *mûn* sâtûnêḍ, va gâm lâ hankhetûnêḍ?

21 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh,

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II. 15, 5, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final ﻝ. 15, 12. $K_{20}$ om. 16, 4. 17, 6. $K_{20}$ om. 17, 13—14. $H_7$ بد. 17, 20. $H_7$ adds کہ; Pers. کهتر. 19, 1. $K_{20}$ سو. 20, 11. ﻉ in all but $K_{20}$.



mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 22 maman zak *vanjishk* aît, mûn sâtûnêḍ, va gâm lâ hankhetûnêḍ.

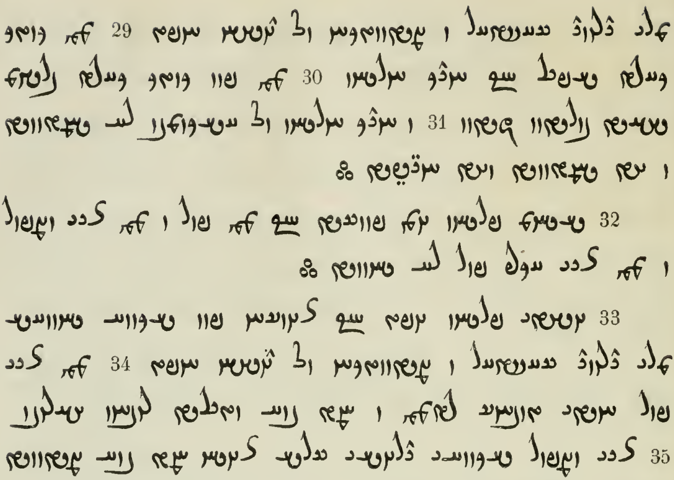
23 Chahârûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Maman *zak mandavam*, *min* dâm-i Aûharmazd, mûn kakâ srûbîn, va srûbô gûshtîn?

24 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 25 maman zak khrûs karîtûnd, mûrûk-i Srôsh-yasharûbô; 26 va amat vâng vâdûnêḍ, *khayâ* patîyârak min dâm-i Aûharmazd lakhvâr yakhsenunêḍ.

27 Panchûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: *Kûtak* kârḍ shapîr, *khadûf* andak khûrishnŏ?

28 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh,

II. 22, 3. H$_7$ اجست , Pers. كُنجِشك; L$_{15}$ . 23,7—8. H$_7$ om. 23,9. H$_6$, L$_{15}$ om. 26,5. H$_7$ آن کہ. 27,6. H$_7$ كودك throughout. 27,9. *khad* substituted for *ay*.



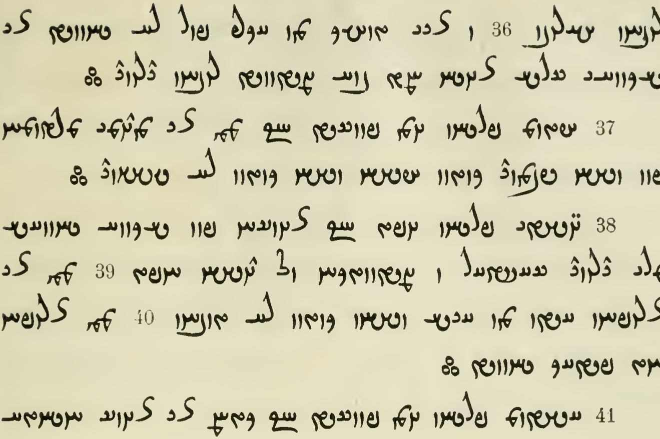
mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 29 maman *kûtak* kârḍ shapîr aîgh andak khûrishnŏ; 30 maman pavan kûtak kârḍ baresôm shâyaḍ *bûrîḍanŏ* chîḍanŏ; 31 *va* andak khûrishnŏ val ashkômbŏ lâ yâmtûnêḍ, *va* hat yâmtûnêḍ vâḍ angêzêḍ.

32 Shashûm *frashnô* denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Maman pûr, va maman *zak-i* nîm-pûr, va maman zak-*i* akaraz pûr lâ yehevûnêḍ?

33 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 34 maman zak-i pûr, *khunîḍ*-i tûbânîk latamman, va amat barâ vaḍîrêḍ, *rûbânô yasharûbŏ;* 35 *zak-i nîm-pûr*, *shekônâ-i daregûsh-i saryâ zîvishn*, *amat barâ yemîtûnêḍ*,

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II. 29, 2. $L_{15}$ … 30, 7. $K_{20}$ … 31, 1, 8. $H_7$, $L_{15}$ om. 32, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 32, 10. $H_7$ om.; $K_{20}$ omits … 32, 14. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ omit … 34, 4. $H_7$ تر; compare Pers. خُنيذ. 34, 11—12. only in $K_{26}$. 35, 1—9. only in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$; $K_{20}$ adds … to 35, 1.



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*rûbânô* yasharûbŏ; 36 va zak-*i tôhîk*, mûn akaraz pûr lâ yehevûnêḍ, zak shekônâ-i saryâ zîvishn, amat barâ *yemîtûnêḍ, rûbânô* darvand.

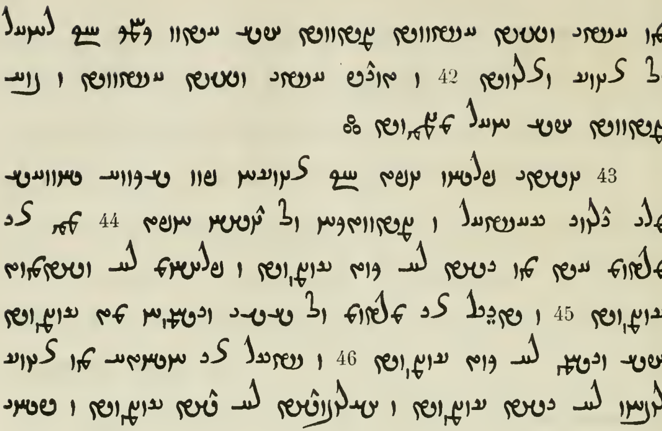
37 Haftûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Maman zak mandavam-*i* marḍûmân pavan nîhân yezbemûnd karḍanŏ, afshân nîhân karḍanŏ lâ *shâyand?*

38 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 39 maman zak *zrûvânô aîtŏ mûn khadîh nîhânŏ karḍanŏ lâ tûbânŏ*; 40 *maman zrûvân* khûḍ-pêḍâk *yehevûnêḍ.*

41 Hashtûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Kaḍâm zak *zîvandak* anshûtâ

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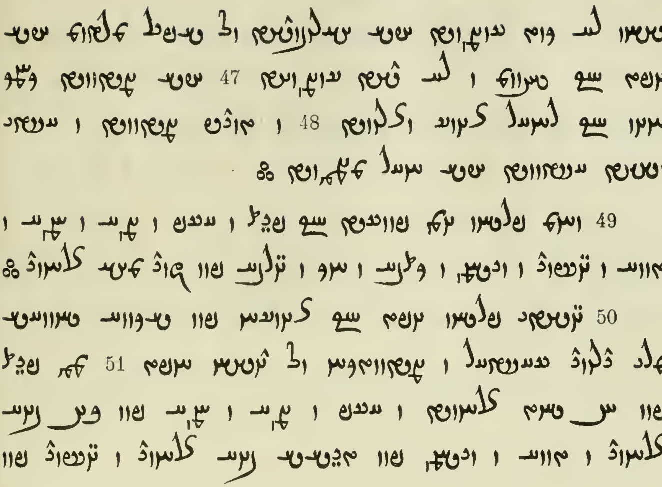
II. 35, 10. $K_{20}$ has د for ا. 36, 2. $K_{20}$ omits د. 36, 3. $H_7$ تهی. 36, 15. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ have ص for final ص. 36, 16. $K_{20}$ has د for ا. 37, 8. $L_{15}$ omits د. 37, 18. ا seems unnecessary, unless ا be merely a substitute for د. 39, 3. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final ا; $H_7$ always زبان. 39, 4.—40, 2. $K_{26}$ om. 40, 1. $L_{15}$ om. 40, 5. $K_{20}$ om. 41, 8. $H_7$ زیوندکان.



mûn *Astî-vîhâḏ* khadîtûnêḏ yemîtûnêḏ, afash *aĉtûn* kâmak aîgh lakhvâr val zîvandak vazlûnêḏ; 42 va *tanidîch* Astî-vîhâḏ khadîtûnêḏ *va* barâ yemîtûnêḏ, afash khvâr medammûnêḏ?

43 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 44 maman *zak* marḏûm *aît* mûn yesht lâ karḏ yekavîmûnêḏ, va parâhôm lâ *vashtamûnḏ* yekavîmûnêḏ; 45 va daḏîgar, zak *marḏûm* val *gâs-i nĉshmanân* maḏ yekavîmûnêḏ, afash *nĉshman* lâ karḏ yekavîmûnêḏ; 46 va saḏîgar, zak *anshûtâ* mûn *zîvandak rûbânô* lâ yasht yekavîmûnêḏ, va yasharûbŏ-dâḏ lâ dâḏ yekavîmûnêḏ, va yazishn-i

II. 41, 11—12. Z. *Astô-vîdhôtu*, Vend. IV. 49, V. 8, 9. 41, 16. $K_{20}$ adds final . 42, 2. $H_7$ تواند از ; in all others. 42, 6. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ om. 44, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 44, 4. $H_6$ . 44, 13. $K_{20}$ has for ; $L_{15}$ . 45, 4. $K_{20}$ uses the hybrid ; or , should be added. 45, 6. only in $H_6$; $H_7$ Pers. توق. 45, 7. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ . 45, 11. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ om. 46, 4. in all but $K_{20}$. 46, 6. $K_{20}$ adds . 46, 7. $K_{20}$ omits final .

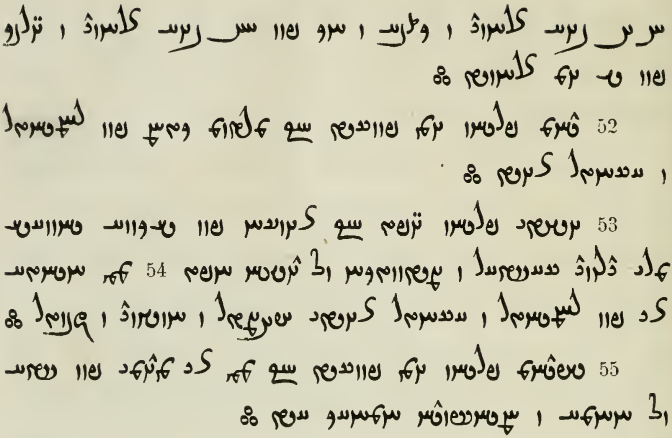


*Yadadânŏ* lâ kardַ yekavîmûnêdַ, *afash* yasharûbŏ-dâdַ val *shapîr mardûm* afash gûft aîgh: Yehabûnam, va lâ dâdַ *yekavîmûnâdַ;* 47 afash yemîtûnêdַ, kâmak ângûn, aîgh lakhvâr zîvandak *vazlûnêdַ;* 48 va *tanidîch* yemîtûnêdַ, va Astî-vîhâdַ khadîtûnêdַ, afash khvâr medammûnêdַ.

49 Nuhûm frashnô denman pûrsîdַ aîgh: Pîl va asp va gamlâ va khamrâ va tôrâ va gôspend va nêshman va kalbâ va khûk va gûrbah pavan chand mâh zerkhûnd?

50 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 51 maman pîl pavan III shanat zerkhûnêdַ, va asp va gamlâ va khamrâ pavan XII bidanâ *zerkhûnd*, va tôrâ va nêshman pavan tîshgâ bidanâ *zerkhûnd*, va gôspend pavan

II. 46, 18. $K_{20}$ omits final [Pahlavi]. 46, 22. $H_7$ از. 46, 25, 26. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi] to both. 46, 34. $L_{15}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 47, 8. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 48, 2. $H_7$ توانند از; [Pahlavi] in all others. 51, 16. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; $L_{15}$ [Pahlavi]. 51, 24. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi].



V *bidanâ zerkhûnd*, *va kalbâ va khûk pavan IV bidanâ zerkhûnd*, va *gûrbak* pavan XL yôm *zerkhûnêḍ*.

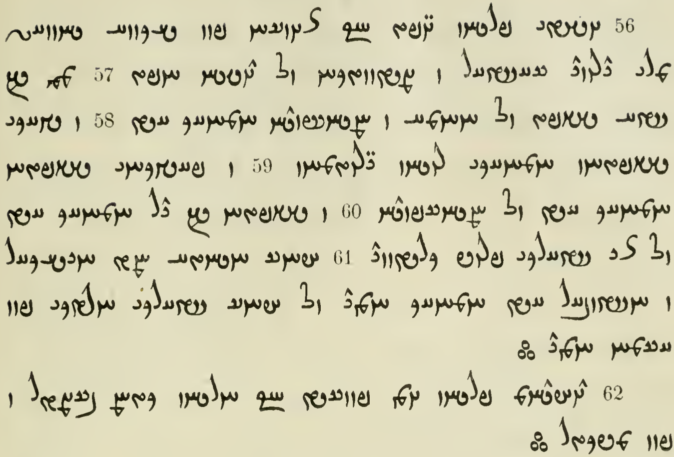
52 Dahûm *frashnô* denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Marḍûm kaḍâm *pavan* râmishntar va âsântar zîvêḍ?

53 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 54 maman *anshûtâ* zak pavan râmishntar *va* âsântar zîvêḍ-i avî-bîmtar va *khûrsvand* va *chabuntar*.

55 Yâzdahûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Maman zak mandavam-i, pavan stih, val Aûharmazd *va* ameshôspendân *hûmânâk* aît.

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II. 51, 29. [illegible] in all but $L_{15}$, which has both words. 51, 30. so in all, but [illegible] for [illegible] would be better. 51, 31—38. $K_{20}$ puts after 51, 44. 51, 36—37. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 51, 38. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 51, 40. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 51, 44. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 52, 2. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ om. 52, 8. $K_{26}$ om. 54, 2. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ [illegible]. 54, 6. $K_{20}$ om. 54, 11. so in $H_6$, $K_{26}$, $L_{15}$; $K_{20}$ [illegible]; $H_7$ خرسندتر. 54, 13. $H_7$ پرهیزتر. 55, 13. $K_{20}$ om. 55, 15. $K_{20}$ [illegible].



56 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 57 maman, *yîn* stih, dahyûpat val Aûharmazd va ameshôspendân hûmânâk aît; 58 va jînâk-i *dahyûpatânŏ hûmânâk-i rôshanŏ Garôḍmânô*; 59 *va pâyînakân-i dahyûpatân* hûmânâk aît val ameshôspendân, 60 va *dahyûpatân* yîn ḍar hûmânâk aît val zak stârak-*i Parvîz* karîtûnd; 61 avârîk anshûtâ, *amat khvêshkâr* va *hûstôbâr* aît, hûmânâk hômand val avârîk stârak-*i* khûrḍak-*i* pavan âsmân hômand.

62 Dvâzdahûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Khûrishnŏ kaḍâm basîmtar va pavan *mîzaktar?*

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II. 57, 2. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 58, 3. final [Pahlavi] only in $H_6$; $L_{15}$ omits [Pahlavi], and adds [Pahlavi]. 58, 4.—59, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 59, 2. compare Pers. پایین , پایین ; $H_7$ پیشینکان. 60, 2. $H_7$ om.; $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]; $K_{26}$ [Pahlavi], دروان. 60, 9. [Pahlavi] only in $H_6$. 60, 10. compare Z. *paurvanîm*, Yas. IX. 26; Pers. پرو , پروین. 61, 3. $L_{15}$ [Pahlavi]. 61, 4. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ add [Pahlavi]. 61, 6. $K_{20}$ omits medial [Pahlavi]. 61, 12. [Pahlavi] only in $H_6$, $K_{20}$. 61, 13. [Pahlavi] only in $H_6$. 62, 11. $H_7$ [Pahlavi].

63 [Pahlavi] 64 [Pahlavi]

65 [Pahlavi]

66 [Pahlavi] 67 [Pahlavi] 68 [Pahlavi]

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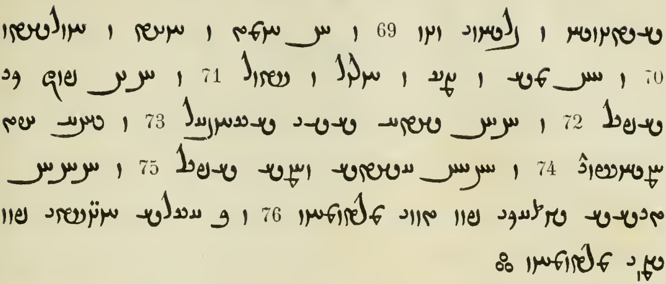
63 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 64 maman *khûrishnŏ zak pavan mîzaktar va basîmtar*, mûn min babâ-*i frârûn tûkhshâkîh* andôkht yekavîmûnêḍ, va afash lakhvâr kâr *va* kirfak vashtamûnêḍ *va* yakhsenunêḍ.

65 Sîzdahûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Khadûk maman? *va* II maman? *va* III maman? *va* IV maman? *va* V maman? *va* VI maman? *va* VII maman? *va* VIII maman? *va* IX maman? *va* X maman?

66 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 67 maman khadûk, khûrshêḍ-*i* shapîr mûn hamâk gêhân rôshanô yakhsenunêḍ; 68 *va* II,

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II. 64, 2—7. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 64, 10. [Pahlavi] only in $H_6$, $K_{26}$. 64, 11. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi]. 64, 12. $K_{20}$ omits [Pahlavi]. 64, 19. only in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$. 64, 22. $K_{20}$ om. 65, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32. $K_{20}$ om. 65, 29. $H_6$ om. 67, 3. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ omit [Pahlavi]. 68, 1. only in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$.



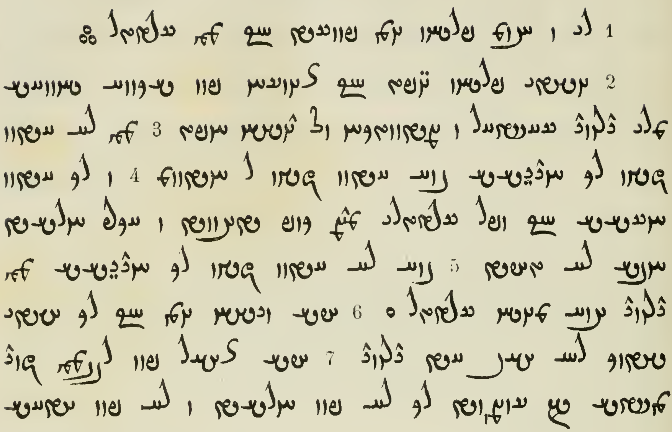
yâîtyûnishn va *burishnŏ-i* vayô; 69 va III, hûmat va hûkht va *hû-varshtô;* 70 va IV, mayâ va damîk va aûrvar va *stôr;* 71 *va* V, *panch Kaî* shapîr; 72 *va* VI, shitâ *gâs-i* gâsânbâr; 73 va shibâ, haft ameshôspend; 74 va VIII, *hashtîh nâmîh* shapîr; 75 *va* IX, tîshgâ sûlâk-i pavan tanû-*i* mardûmânŏ; 76 va X, asryâ angûst-i pavan yad-man-*i mardûmânŏ.*

[The text leaps here, from the 13th to the 23d enigma, in all the MSS.; the break being indicated in $H_6$ by a blank quarter of a line, in $K_{20}$ $K_{26}$ by a triple stop, and in $H_7$ by the Persian note: ازینجا ناقص است مطابق اصل نوشته شد. It is not, however, absolutely certain that there is any omission; for the 13th enigma contains ten questions which, if counted separately, would exactly correspond with the missing number; on the other hand, it must be admitted that some of the other enigmas contain several questions, which are not counted separately as here suggested.]

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II. 68, 5. $H_7$ روشن. 69, 7. $K_{20}$ omits final ). 70, 9. $H_7$ اشتر 'a camel', Pers. ستاره 'a star'. 71, 1. $H_6$ om. 71, 3—4. $H_7$ پنچکه; $K_{20}$ has ) for د; د ought to be added. 72, 1. $H_6$ om. 72, 4. $H_7$ om.; $K_{26}$ omits ـوـو; all others omit د. 74, 3—4. $H_7$ آسپنتش و هميشه. 75, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 75, 6. $K_{20}$ omits د. 76, 6. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ omit د. 76, 7. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final ).

# Chapter III.

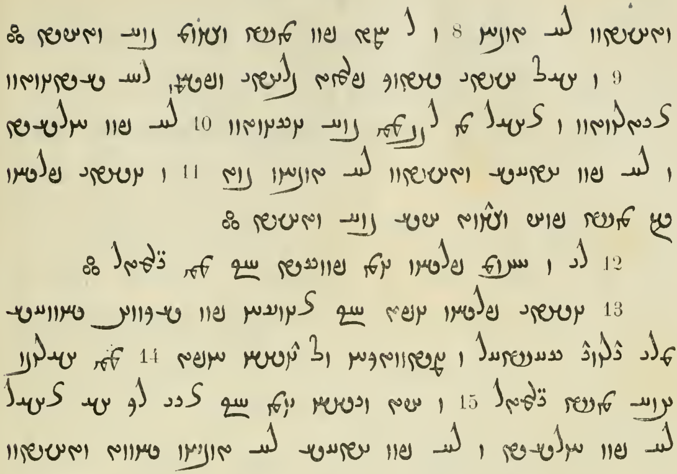


## Chapter III.

1 XX *va* IIIûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Maman sarḍtar?

2 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 3 maman lâ *aêtûn* chîgûn lak andêshîh, *barâ aêtûn chîgûn li khavîtûnam;* 4 *va lak aêtûn andêshîh*, aîgh vafar sarḍtar-*i* madam kôf yetîbûnêḍ, va akaraz khûrshêḍ aûbash lâ tâvêḍ; 5 barâ lâ *aêtûn* chîgûn lak andêshîh, maman darvand gabrâ mînishn sarḍtar. 6 Afash *nîshân* denman, *aîgh* lak, Akht-i yâtûk, râî akh-I aît darvand; 7 afash zâhar pavan libbemman chand *mûstîh* yîn yekavîmûnêḍ, lak lâ pavan khûrshêḍ, va lâ pavan âtâsh

III. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 3, 3, 8. 4, 3. $K_{20}$ adds final . 3, 7.—4, 4. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ om. 4, 7. $K_{20}$ adds to ; $L_{15}$ omits . 5, 3. $K_{20}$ adds final . 6, 2. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ add final . 6, 4. $K_{20}$ . 7, 6. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ have for .



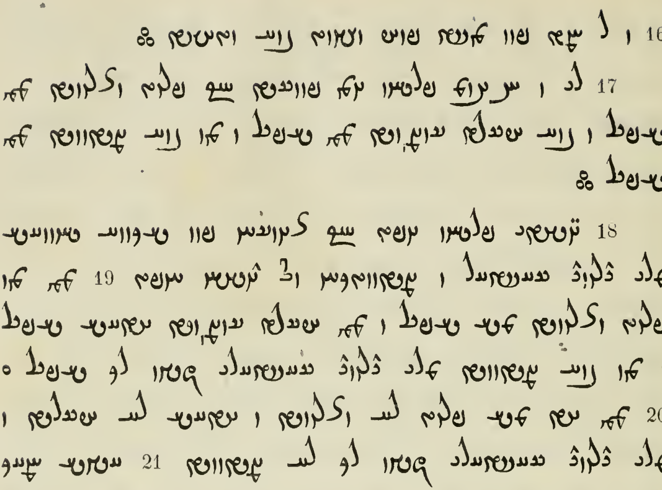
vaḍâkhtanŏ lâ tûbân; 8 va li *amat* pavan mâst vakhdûnam, barâ *vaḍâjêḍ.*

9 Va akhar, Akht-i yâtûk farmûḍ brâḍ-i nafshman râî yâîtyûntanŏ, zektelûntanŏ, *va* zâhar min libbemman barâ yansegûntanŏ; 10 lâ pavan khûrshêḍ, *va* lâ pavan âtâsh vaḍâkhtanŏ lâ tûbânŏ *bûḍ*; 11 va Gôsht-i Fryânô yîn mûst frâz vakhdûnḍ, afash barâ vaḍâkht.

12 XX *va* IVûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Maman garmtar?

13 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 14 maman *yasharûbŏ* gabrâ mûst garmtar; 15 *va afat nîshân* denman, aîgh zak-*i lak* akh zâhar lâ pavan *khûrshêḍ*, va lâ pavan *âtâsh*, lâ tûbânŏ *yehevûnḍ* vaḍâkhtanŏ;

III. 8, 3. $L_{15}$ . 8, 8. $K_{20}$ omits . 9, 11. 10, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 10, 11. $L_{15}$ om. 12, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 14, 2. $K_{20}$ has for . 15, 1. $K_{26}$ om. 15, 2. $H_7$ ازش. 15, 3. $K_{20}$ adds final . 15, 6. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ omit د. 15, 7. $K_{20}$ adds . 15, 12, 16. $K_{20}$ reverses the order of these two words. 15, 19. $K_{20}$ joined to preceding word.

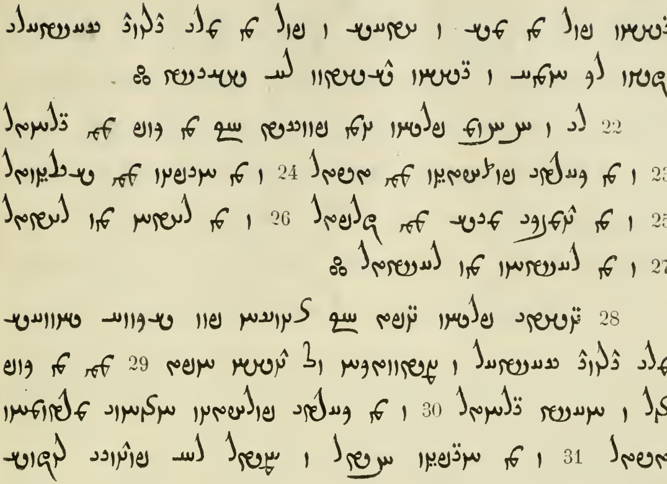


16 va li, *amat* pavan mûst frâz vakhdûnḍ, *barâ* vaḍâkht.

17 XX *va Vûm* frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Frôḍ vazlûnêḍ, maman shapîr? va barâ afsurḍ yekavîmûnêḍ, maman shapîr? va mûn barâ yemîtûnêḍ, maman shapîr?

18 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ *yechevûnâsh*, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 19 maman *mûn* frôḍ vazlûnêḍ, *mayâ shapîr;* va *maman* afsurḍ yekavîmûnêḍ, âtâsh shapîr; va mûn barâ yemîtûnêḍ, mar-i darvand sâstâr-*i* chîgûn lak shapîr. 20 Maman hat mayâ frôḍ lâ vazlûnêḍ, *va* âtâsh lâ afsurêḍ, va mar-i darvand sâstâr-*i* chîgûn lak lâ yemîtûnêḍ, 21 *adînash* hamâk

III. 16, 3. $K_{20}$ om.; $L_{15}$ . 16, 8. $H_7$ om. 17, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 17, 3. $K_{20}$ . 18, 8. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ . 19, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 19, 5. $K_{26}$ omits from this to 20, 6. 19, 6. $K_{20}$ om. 19, 8. so in all, but  would be better. 19, 19. د only in $H_6$. 20, 7. $H_7$ چه. 20, 14. د only in $H_6$, $K_{26}$. 21, 1. $H_7$ ازش.

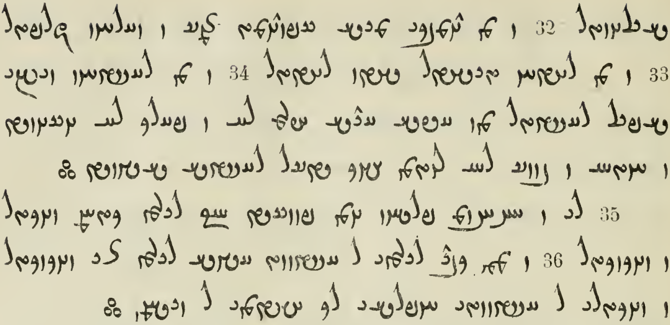


gêhânŏ pûr min mayâ va âtâsh, va pûr min mar-i darvand sâstâr-i chîgûn lak *hômanih*, va gêhânŏ dâshtanŏ lâ *shâyast.*

22 XX *va VIûm* frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Min kôf maman girântar? 23 va min kârḍ-i pûlâvḍînŏ maman tîztar? 24 va min *angupînŏ* maman shîrînŏtar? 25 va min dûmbak-i mêsh maman *charptar?* 26 va min râḍân mûn râḍtar? 27 va min *râstânŏ* mûn râsttar?

28 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 29 maman min kôf, zûr *va anâst* girântar; 30 va min kârḍ-i pûlâvḍînŏ, hûzvânŏ-i marḍûmânŏ tîztar; 31 va min angupînŏ, abîḍar va amîḍar râî, fardand-i *rôjŏîh*

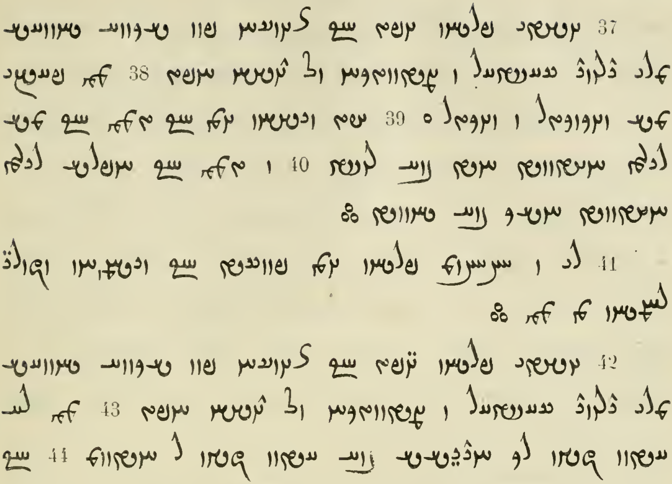
III. 21, 17. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 21, 22. $H_7$, $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 22, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 22, 3. $L_{15}$ omits [illegible]. 24, 3. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 25, 6. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 27, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 29, 5. $K_{20}$ om. 29, 6. $K_{20}$ adds و; $H_7$ خاست. 31, 9. $H_7$ روزی; it can also be read *ranjoîh.*



shîrînŏtar; 32 va min dûmbak-i mêsh, Spendarmaḍ zamîk *va vârânŏ* charptar; 33 va min râḍân, Tîshtar yêdatô râḍtar; 34 va min *râstânŏ*, *Vâyô-i* shapîr râsttar, mûn *hîchîh* khadîh âzarm *lâ*, *va pârak* lâ yansegûnêḍ, *va* khûḍâî va bôndak râî, levatman khadûk daḍîgar, *râstîh* yakhsenunêḍ.

35 XX *va* VIIûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: *Ragelman* kaḍâm naḍûktar va *nadûkûktar?* 36 va maman kabed ragelman-i li *khadîtûnḍ*, adînash ragelman zak *nadûkûktar* va nadûktar-*i* li khadîtûnḍ-*i Hûparsh-i* lak akhtman-i li nêshman.

III. 32, 7. $K_{20}$ om. 32, 8. 34, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final ו. 34, 4. a variant of ويونه, the tails of ن, س, سن, ون, etc. being often extended backwards by some writers; $H_6$ gloss نَیء; $H_7$ هومنشن. 34, 8. $H_6$ seems to strike out ور: 34, 11—13. so in $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$; $H_6$, $H_7$, $L_{15}$ have اسد for لسد, but this would require either the omission of *va*, or the insertion of a few extra words; the former might be effected by reading *napahrak*, Pers. نپهره 'private', but this would be hazardous; $H_7$ has پتیاره for وسلو; compare Mkh. II. 121, 122, 135. 34, 16. $K_{20}$ om. 34, 24. $K_{26}$ omits ور. 35, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 35, 8. $K_{20}$ وسد. 35, 12. Pers. نیکوتر. 36, 6. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ have ون for م. 36, 10. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ omit the second و. 36, 12, 14. $K_{20}$ omits د. 36, 15. $H_7$ هوورش twice, هورش five times.

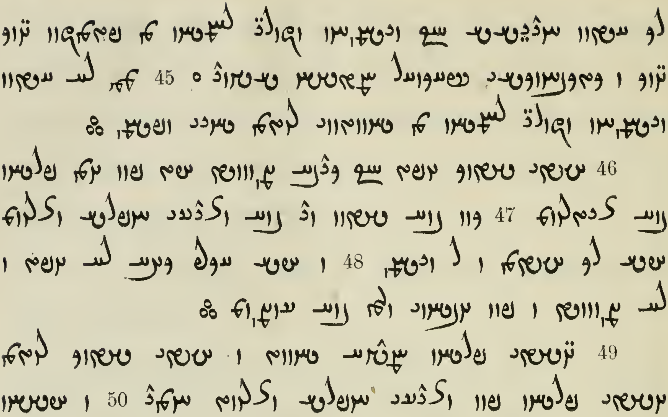


37 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 38 *maman pâê-i Mayâ nadûkûktar va* nadûktar. 39 Afat *nîshânŏ* denman, aîgh tamman aîgh Mayâ ragelman hankhetûnêḍ, khavîḍ barâ *rôdêḍ;* 40 va tamman *aîgh* Hû-parsh ragelman hankhetûnêḍ khûshk barâ yehevûnêḍ.

41 XX *va* VIIIûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: *Nêshmanânŏ vazûrg* râmishnŏ min maman?

42 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 43 maman lâ *aêtûn* chîgûn lak andêshîh, barâ *aêtûn* chîgûn li *khavîtûnam*; 44 aîgh

III. 38, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 38, 2. perhaps *pâdyô*, compare Z. *paidhya*. 38, 3. $H_7$. 38, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 38, 5. only in $H_6$, $H_7$. 39, 2. $K_{20}$ omits final. 39, 12. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ om. 40, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 41, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 41, 8. $K_{20}$ omits final; $H_7$ adds. 41, 9. $K_{20}$ adds. 43, 3, 8. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ add final. 43, 11. $H_6$, $L_{15}$.



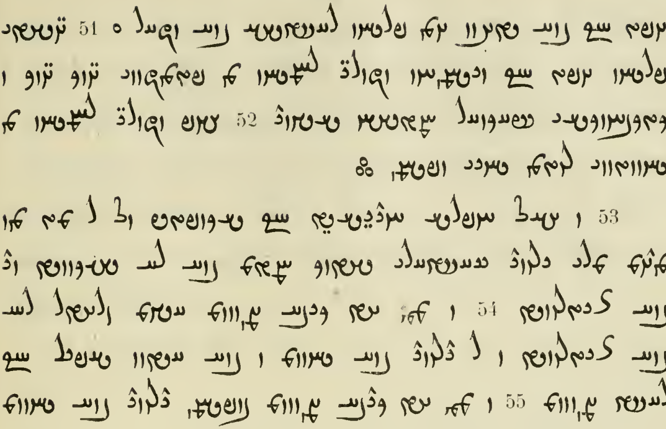
lak *aĉtûn* andêshîh aîgh *nêshmanânŏ vazûrg* râmishnŏ min paḍmûjanŏ gûnak gûnak, va *kaḏak*-bânûkîh-i sazâkvâr, amatshân yakhsenund. 45 Maman lâ *aĉtûn; nêshmanânŏ vazûrg* râmishnŏ min yehevûntanŏ-*i* levatman shûî-*i* nafshman.

46 Akht-i yâtûk gûft aîgh: Kadbâ yemalelûnêḍ, afat pavan denman frashnô barâ *zektelûnam*; 47 kevan barâ yâtûn, vad barâ nazdîk-i Hû-parsh vazlûnam, *afash* lak akhtman *va* li nêshman, 48 va afash akaraz kadbâ lâ gûft *va* lâ yemalelûnêḍ, va pavan *gûbishnŏ*-i valman barâ *yekavîmûnam.*

49 Gôsht-i Fryânô ham-dînâ yehevûnḍ; va Akht-i yâtûk, levatman Gôsht-i Fryânô, pavan nazdîk-i Hû-parsh vazlûnḍ hômand; 50 va *afshânŏ*

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III. 44, 3. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ add final. 44, 6. $H_7$ adds. 44, 7. $K_{20}$ adds. 44, 14. $K_{20}$ omits the second. 45, 3. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ add final. 45, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final; $H_7$ adds. 45, 5. $K_{20}$ adds. 45, 8, 10. $K_{20}$ omits د. 46, 12. $H_6$, $L_{15}$. 47, 9. $H_6$ prefixes. 47, 12. 48, 7. $K_{20}$ om. 48, 12. $K_{20}$ omits final. 48, 15. $H_7$ شنویم; it also adds, by mistake, a repetition of sentence 42. 50, 2. $K_{20}$ omits final.

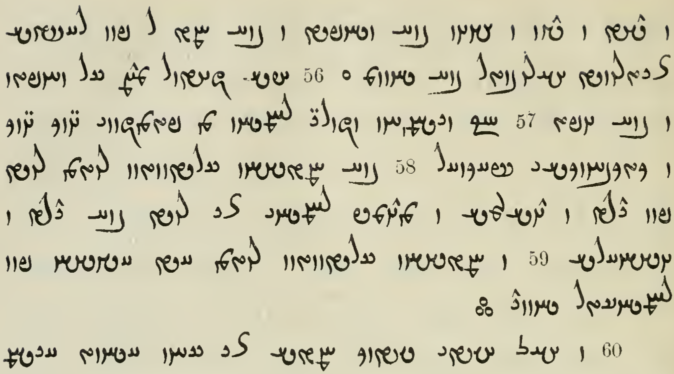


*gûft* aîgh: Barâ yetîbûn, denman *frashnô* râstyîsh barâ vajâr. 51 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: *Nêshmanânŏ* vazûrg râmishnŏ, min padmûjanŏ-i gûnak gûnak, va *kadak*-bânûkîh-i sazâkvâr, amatshân yakhsenund? 52 ayûf vazûrg râmishnŏ min *yehevûntanŏ-i* levatman shûî-*i* nafshman?

53 Va akhar, Hû-parsh andêshîd aîgh: Shikûftîch val li mad, mûn *mandavam* mar-i *darvand* sâstâr-i yâtûk, *amatam* barâ lâ shedkûnêd vad barâ zektelûnêd; 54 va maman hat kadbâ yemalelûnam, adînam brâdar râî barâ zektelûnêd, va li darvand barâ yehevûnam, va barâ aêtûn shapîr aîgh râst yemalelûnam; 55 va maman hat kadbâ *yemalelûnam*, benafshman darvand barâ yehevûnam,

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III. 50, 3. $K_{20}$ . 50, 8. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ ; $K_{15}$ ; as if some words were omitted. 51, 5. $K_{20}$ omits final ; $H_7$ adds . 51, 13. $K_{20}$ omits second . 52, 5 $H_6$, $L_{15}$ . 52, 7. $K_{20}$ omits . 53, 11. compare 70, 10—12; $K_{20}$ adds , and $K_{26}$ . 53, 13. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ add . 53, 16. $L_{15}$ prefixes , which might be substituted for with advantage. 55. 5. all but $K_{20}$ have for .

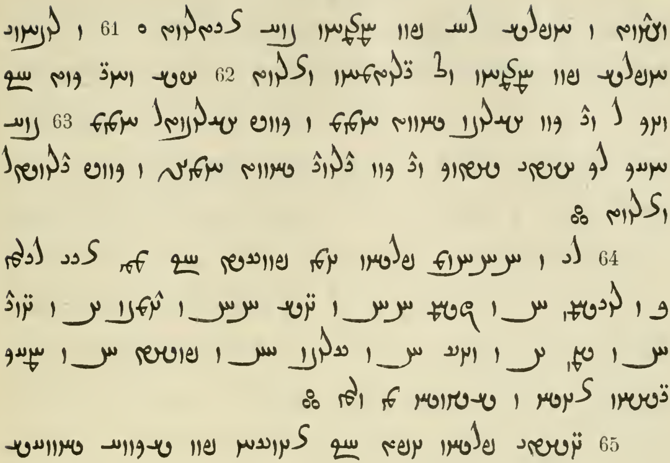


va dâḍ va dînô *va khadûînŏ* barâ *vashûpêḍ*; *va barâ* amat *li* pavan râstîh zektelûnêḍ, *yasharûbŏtar* barâ yehevûnam. 56 Afash *châḍûr* madam *sar nihûftô*, va barâ gûft 57 aîgh: *Nêshmanânŏ* vazûrg *râmishnŏ* min paḍmûjanŏ-*i* gûnak gûnak, va *kaḍak*-bânûkîh-i sazâkvâr; 58 barâ *amatshânŏ sarîtûntanŏ* levatman lôît, pavan darḍ *va* dûsh-ramîh, *va* mandavamîch *râmishn*-i zak lôît barâ darḍ va dûsh-khvârîh; 59 *va amatshânŏ sarîtûntanŏ* levatman aît, adînshân pavan râmishnîktar yehevûnd.

60 *Va* akhar, Akht-i yâtûk, amatash zak sakhûn ashnûḍ, khêshm

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III. 55, 14. $K_{20}$ om. 55, 15. *khadû* substituted for *ây*. 55, 17—19. $K_{20}$ [illegible] [illegible]. 55, 21. $H_7$ adds را. 55, 25. $K_{20}$ omits ٫. 56, 2. compare Pers. چادر and چتو. 56, 4. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ om. 56, 5. final ٫ only in $H_6$; $H_7$ اوفتـ, Pers. افکند. 57, 2. $H_7$ adds را. 57, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final ٫. 57, 6. $K_{20}$ omits د. 57, 10. $K_{20}$ omits the second و. 58, 2. $K_{20}$ omits final ٫. 58, 3. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ have وم for م; $H_7$ وستن. 58, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 58, 10. $H_7$ چه. 58, 12. $K_{20}$ adds final ٫. 59, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 59, 2. $K_{20}$ omits final ٫. 59, 3. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ have وم for م, as in 58, 3; $H_6$ writes وم over م, and $L_{15}$ writes it after مرر; the suffix ومرر would be correct (as the Pâz. may be گائیدن as well as گادن) but مرر is more usual; $H_7$ وستن. 60, 1. $K_{20}$ om.

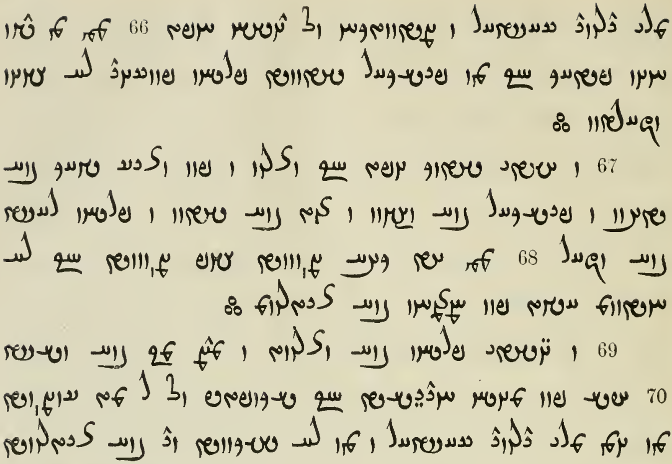


*vakhdûnḍ*, va Hû-parsh râî, pavan ham-zamânŏ, barâ zektelûnḍ. 61 Va rûbânô-i Hû-parsh, pavan ham-*zamânŏ*, val *Garôḍmânô* vazlûnḍ; 62 afash vâng karḍ aîgh: Nadûk *li*; vad kevan yasharûbŏ yehevûnḍ hômanam, va kevanîch yasharûbŏtar hômanam; 63 *barâ* anâk lak, Akht-i yâtûk; vad *kevan* darvand yehevûnḍ *hômanyîh*, va kevanîch darvandtar vazlûnḍ.

64 XX *va* IXûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Maman *zak*-i ragelman X, va rôêshman III, va chashm VI, va gôsh VI, va *dûmbô* II, va *gûnd* III, va yadman II, va vînîk III, va srûbô IV, va pôsht III, va hamâk gêhânŏ zîvishn va *yakhsenunishn* min valman?

65 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh,

III. 60, 10. $K_{20}$ . 61, 5. $K_{20}$ omits final . 61, 7. $K_{20}$ omits final . 62, 6. $H_7$ adds دانم. 63, 1. $H_6$ leaves a blank space for this word; $L_{15}$ om. 63, 7. $H_7$, $K_{20}$ om. 63, 10. $K_{20}$ . 64, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 64, 9. $K_{20}$ omits . 64, 22. $K_{20}$ omits . 64, 25. $H_7$ . 64, 44. $K_{20}$ om.



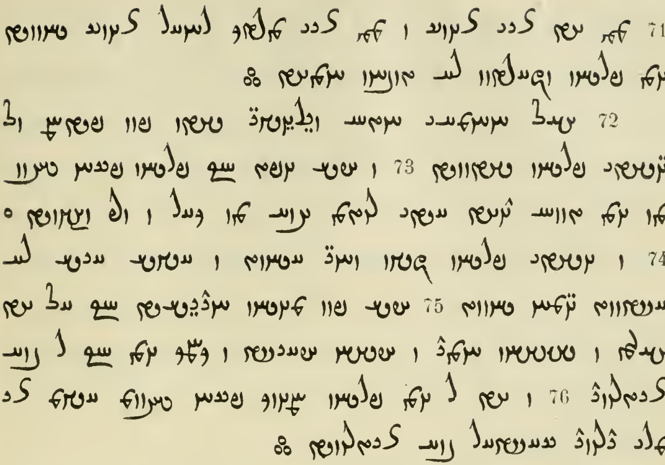
mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 66 maman min dînô *ângûn* pêḍâk aîgh: *mûn pêshkâr yâtûnêḍ*, frashnô *pûrsênd* lâ *khadûînŏ* vajârḍanŏ.

67 Va Akht-i yâtûk gûft aîgh: Vazlûn, *va* pavan nazdîk jînâk barâ yetîbûn, *va pêshkâr* barâ vâdûnŏ, va zûḍ barâ yâtûn, va frashnô râst barâ vajâr; 68 maman hat kadbâ yemalelûnêḍ, ayûf yemalelûnêḍ aîgh: Lâ khavîtûnam, adînat pavan *ham-zamânŏ* barâ *zektelûnam.*

69 Va Gôsht-i Fryânô barâ vazlûnḍ, va madam magh barâ nishast; 70 afash pavan mînishn andêshîḍ aîgh: Shikûftîch val li maḍ yekavîmûnêḍ, mûn denman mar-i *darvand* sâstâr, va mûn lâ shedkûnêḍ vad *barâ* zektelûnêḍ;

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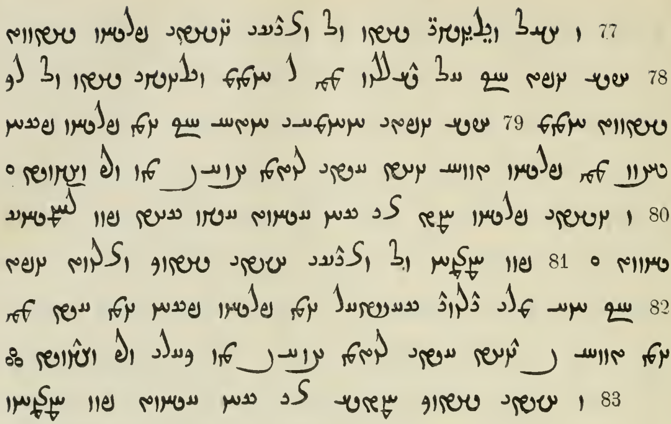
III. 66, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 66, 7. [Pahlavi] in all but $H_7$ which has كز; [Pahlavi] would be better. 66, 8—9. $H_7$ Pers. بول ایدك. 66, 11. $H_7$ پرسم. 66, 13. *khadû* substituted for *ây;* $H_6$ omits final [Pahlavi letter]. 67, 7, 13. $K_{20}$ om. 67, 14. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]; $H_7$ Pers. بول. 68, 12. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 68, 14. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 70, 14. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ add [Pahlavi]. 70, 21. $K_{26}$ om.



71 *maman* hat zak-i zîvandak, va maman zak-i mûrdak lakhvâr zîvandak *yehevûnêḍ*, denman frashnô vajârdanŏ lâ tûbânŏ *hômanâḍ*.

72 Akhar, Aûharmazd-i khûḍâî Nêryôsang *yêdatô*, pavan pêtkham, val Gôsht-i Fryânô *shedûnêḍ*, 73 *va afash gûft* aîgh: Frashnô pasukhô yehabûn, mûn denman: *tôrâ dvâḍ* aît-i levatman gabrâ mûn kâr *va* varz vâdûnêḍ. 74 Va Gôsht-i Fryânô chîgûn vâng ashnûḍ, va adînash khadîh lâ khadîtûnḍ, gûmân yehevûnḍ; 75 afash pavan *mînishnŏ* andêshîḍ aîgh: *Al hat* Akharman va shêdâânŏ hômand, va *azshân* avâyast *va kâmak* denman, aîgh li barâ zektelûnd; 76 va hat li denman frashnô ham-gûnak pasukhô yehabûnam, adînam zak mar-i *darvand* sâstâr barâ zektelûnêḍ.

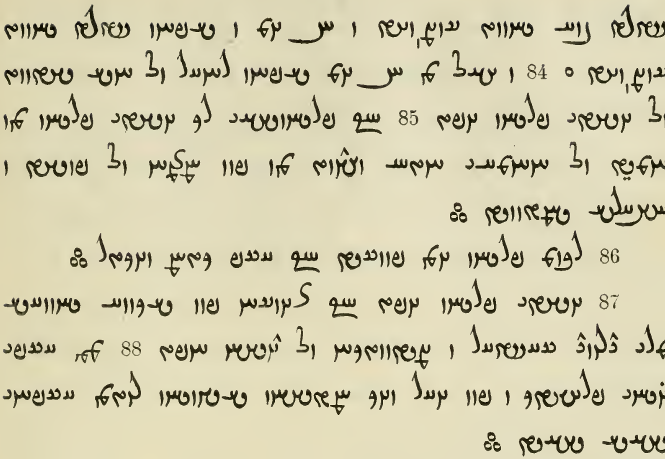
III. 71, 1. $L_{15}$ [illegible]. 71, 11. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 71, 17. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ [illegible]; $H_7$ om. 72, 5. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 72, 11.—73, 3. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 73, 10. perhaps *tôrâk;* $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ [illegible]. 73, 11. $H_7$ جفتران. 73, 17. $K_{20}$ om. 75, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 75, 6—7. $H_7$ om. 75, 13. or *afshân*. 75, 15—16. $H_7$ دانم; $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 76, 12. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ add د.



77 Va akhar, Nêryôsang *yêdatô* val nazdîk-i Gôsht-i Fryânô yâtûnd, 78 afash gûft aîgh: Al *dekhlûn!* maman li hômanam Nêryôsang yêdatô; val lak *shedûnd* hômanam, 79 afash gûft-*i* Aûharmazd-i *khûdâî aîgh*: *Denman* frashnô pasukhô yehabûn; maman frashnô tôrâ dvâd aît-i levatman gabrâ-I mûn varz vâdûnêd. 80 *Va* Gôsht-i Fryânô, amat zak sakhun ashnûd, *adînŏ sakht* pavan râmishnîk yehevûnd. 81 Pavan *ham-zamân*, val nazdîk-i Akht-i yâtûk vazlûnd, gûft 82 aîgh: *Anâ* mar-i *darvand* sâstâr, denman frashnô pasukhô denman aît: maman denman tôrâ I dvâd aît-i levatman gabrâ-I mun kâr-*i* varz vâdûnêd.

83 Va Akht-i yâtûk, *amatash zak* sakhun ashnûd, pavan ham-*zamânŏ*

III. 77, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final ı. 78, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final ı. 78, 13. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]; $H_7$ آمد; but compare 72, 8—11. 79, 2. د is inserted here; $K_{26}$ substitutes سو, and all others omit it. 79, 4. $H_6$ [Pahlavi]. 79, 5—6. $K_{26}$ om. 80, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 80, 8. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ omit final ı. 80, 9. $H_7$ سخن. 81, 2. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. 82, 2. or *hanâ;* $H_7$ هید, Pers. هستی. 82, 4. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ add د. 82, 20. $L_{15}$ omits د. 83, 4. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 83, 5. $H_7$ om. 83, 9. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ omit final ı.

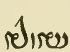
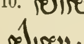


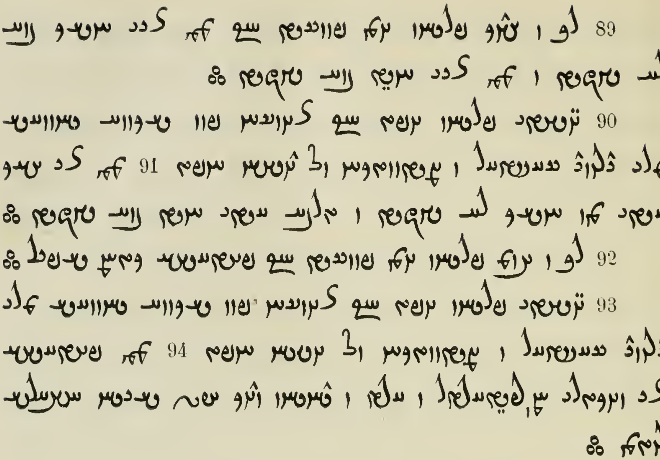
*stared* barâ yehevûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ, va III yôm *va* shapânŏ *stared* yehevûnḍ yekavîmûnâḍ. 84 Va akhar min III yôm shapânŏ, lakhvâr *val* hûsh yâtûnḍ, *val* Gôsht-i *Fryânô* gûft 85 aîgh: *Frashnôîhâ-i* lak, Gôsht-i Fryânô, mûn aûmêḍ val Aûharmazd-*i khûḍâî* vakhdûnḍ mûn, pavan ham-zamân, val pôsht va aîyyârîh yâmtûnêḍ.

86 XXXûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Asp kaḍâm nadûktar?

87 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 88 maman asp-i gûshan-i farâkhtak *va* pavan gôhar nadûk; *amatshânŏ* yakhsenunishnŏ levatman *aspân-i shahîh* shâyaḍ.

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III. 83, 10.  in all, but see 83, 19. and II. 8, 7. 83, 17. $K_{20}$ om. 83, 19. $K_{26}$ . 84, 8. $H_7$ adds په. 84, 11. $H_7$ کو. 84, 13. $H_7$ adds را. 85, 2. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ have  for ; $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit ; $H_7$ پرانهای, Pers. فرخیهای. 85, 9. $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ omit د. 85, 10. $H_6$, $K_{26}$ . 88, 5. $K_{20}$ om. 88, 9. final  only in $H_6$. 88, 12—13. $H_6$ gloss اسپانهاش; $H_7$ اسپام نهایشن, Pers. لکام نهادن. 88, 13. or *siyâîh*.



89 *XXX va khadûk* frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Maman zak-i khûshk *barâ* lâ sôjêḍ? va *maman* zak-i *khavîd* barâ sôjêḍ?

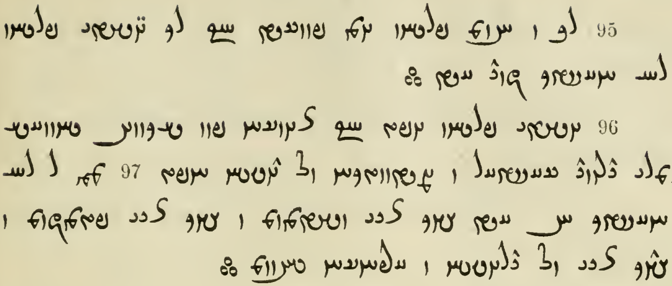
90 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 91 maman zak khâk aît-i *mûn* khûshk lâ sôjêḍ, va tarbâ *aît-i* khavîḍ barâ sôjêḍ.

92 XXX va Hûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: *Pâḍakhshah* kaḍâm shapîr?

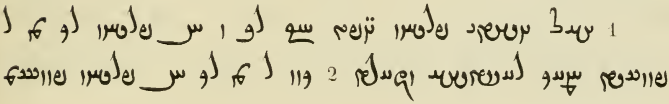
93 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 94 maman pâḍakhshah zak nadûktar-i âmûrzîḍârtar, va khiraḍ va *dânishnô nadûk*, afash *dahîshn aîyyârîh* levatman.

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III. 89, 1—3. $K_{20}$ . 89, 11. $H_{17}$ . 89, 15. $I_{15}$ om. 89, 17. $H_7$ adds . 91, 5. so in all, but perhaps would be better. 91, 11. $H_7$ adds . 92, 8. $K_{20}$ adds . 94, 9—10. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$, $L_{15}$ . 94, 12. $H_7$ کیهان; it might be read *gâsân*. 94, 13. $L_{15}$ omits .



## Chapter IV.



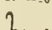
95 XXX va IIIûm frashnô denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Lak, Gôsht-i Fryânô, *râî* khvâstak chand *aît?*

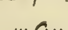
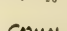
96 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 97 maman li *râî* khvâstak III *aît*: khadûk, zak-i vashtamûnam; va khadûk, zak-i paḍmûjôm; va khadûk, *zak-i val* daregûshân va arjânîkân yehabûnam.

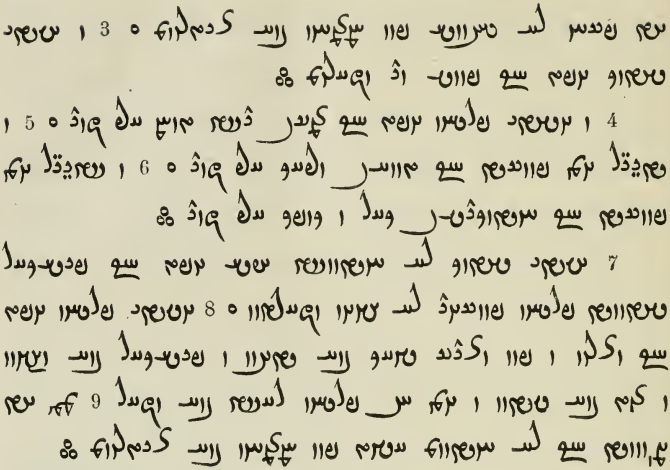
## Chapter IV.

1 Akhar, Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: XXX *va* III frashnô, *lak* min li *pûrsîḍ*, hamâk râstyîsh *vajârḍ;* 2 kevan li min lak III frashnô *pûrsêm;*

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III. 95, 11. $K_{20}$ om. 95, 14. $II_6$ ; $K_{20}$ om. 97, 3. $K_{20}$ om. 97, 6. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ . 97, 16—17. $H_7$ omits ; $K_{20}$ omits .

IV. 1, 7, 10. $K_{20}$ om. 1, 13. $K_{20}$ adds . 1. 16. $K_{20}$ adds final . 2, 7. $K_{20}$ ; $K_{26}$ .



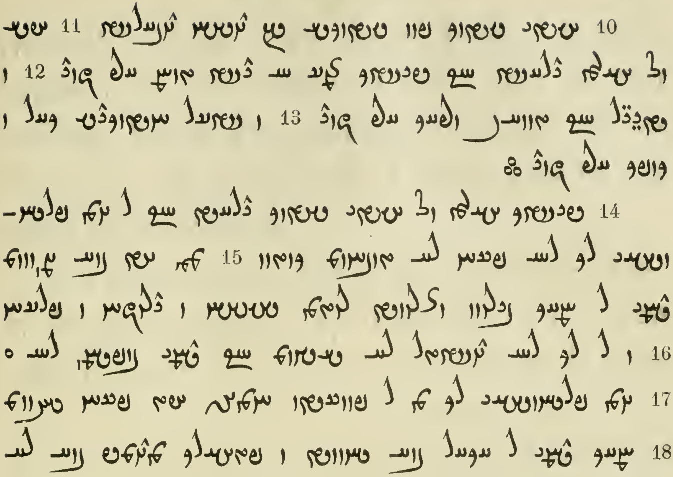
hat pasukhô lâ yehabûnîh, pavan ham-*zamânŏ* barâ zektelûnam. 3 Va Akht-i yâtûk gûft aîgh: Pûrs, vad vajârôm.

4 Va Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: *Zamîk I* dast tôkhm arj chand? 5 Va daḍîgar denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Tôrâ-*I varzâk* arj chand? 6 *Va* saḍîgar denman pûrsîḍ aîgh: Khvêtûk-das-I kâr va kirfak arj chand?

7 Akht-i yâtûk lâ khavîtûnast, afash gûft aîgh: *Pêshkâr yâtûnêḍ*, frashnô *pûrsênd* lâ *khadûînŏ* vajârḍanŏ. 8 Gôsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: *Vazlûn*, va pavan nazdîk jînâk barâ yetîbûn, va *pêshkâr* barâ *vâdûnŏ*, va zûḍ barâ yâtûn, *va* denman *III* frashnô râst barâ vajâr; 9 maman hat yemalelûnêḍ aîgh: Lâ khavîtûnam, adînat pavan ham-*zamânŏ* barâ zektelûnam.

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IV. 2, 13. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 4, 6. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 4, 7. $L_{15}$ om. 5, 6. $H_7$, $L_{15}$ omit [illegible]. 5, 7. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 6, 1. all om. 7, 8—9. $H_7$ Pers. آب تاختن آید. 7, 11. $H_7$ پرسم. 7, 13. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for final [illegible]. 8, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 8, 13. $H_7$ Pers. بول. 8, 15. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 8, 20. all om. 8, 22. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ om. 9, 9. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible].

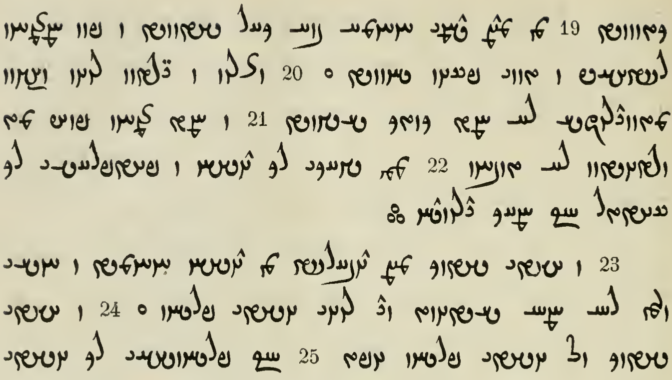


10 *Akht*-i yâtûk, pavan yâtûkîh, yîn dûshahû dûbârast; 11 afash val Akharman drâyîḍ aîgh: Gajêstak! *zamîk* aê dast tôkhm arj chand? 12 va daḍîgar aîgh: tôrâ-*I* varzâk arj chand? 13 va saḍîgar, khvêtûk-das kâr *va* kirfak arj chand?

14 Gajêstak Akharman val Akht-i yâtûk drâîḍ aîgh: Li denman frashnôîhâ-*i* lak râî, pasukhô lâ *tûbânôm* kardanŏ; 15 maman hat barâ yemalelûnam, dâm-i li *hamâk* bîrûnŏ vazlûnêḍ, levatman shêdâân *va* drûjân va parîkân; 16 va li lak râî dôsttar lâ yakhsenunam aîgh dâm-i benafshman râî. 17 Denman *frashnôîhâ*-i lak min li *pûrsîḍŏ hômanyîh*, afat pasukhô yehabûnam, 18 *hamâk* dâm-i li akâr barâ yehevûnêḍ, va *patîyârak* mandavamîch barâ lâ

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IV. 10, 1. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ prefix [illegible]. 11, 7. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 12, 4. $H_7$, $K_{20}$ omit [illegible]. 13, 5. $H_7$, $K_{20}$ om. 14, 10. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 14, 15. $K_{20}$ [illegible]; $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 15, 7. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 15, 12. $K_{20}$ om. 17, 2. medial [illegible] only in $K_{20}$. 17, 6. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 17, 7. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 18, 1. $K_{20}$ adds [illegible]. 18, 8. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ have [illegible] for [illegible].

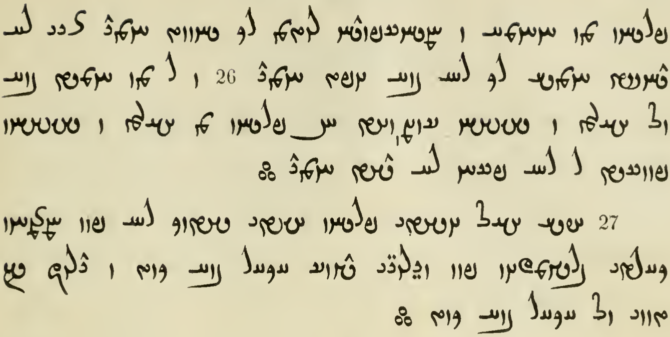


*ketrûnêḍ*, 19 min madam dâm-i Aûharmazd barâ kâr *yâtûnêḍ*; va pavan ham-*zamânŏ rist*-âkhêz *va* tanû-*i* pasînŏ yehevûnêḍ. 20 *Vazlûn*, *va* garḍanŏ levînŏ *vâdûnŏ*; mitrô-drûjîh *lâ*, *amat kirḍak* yakhsenunêḍ; 21 va amat *zamânŏ* frâz maḍ, *varḍînîḍanŏ* lâ tûbânŏ; 22 maman jînâk-i lak dûshahû, va pâḍafrâs-*i* lak sakhttar aîgh hamâk darvandân.

23 Va Akht-i yâtûk madam dûbârast min dûshahû anaûmêḍ, va *aôsh-i* valman râî hamâî yâîtyûnḍ vad levîn-*i* Gôsht-i Fryânô. 24 *Va Akht-i yâtûk val Gôsht-i Fryânô* gûft 25 aîgh: *Frashnôîhâ-i* lak, Gôsht-i

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IV. 18, 12. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 19, 7. $L_{15}$ [illegible]. 19, 10. $K_{20}$ omits final ر. 19, 11. $K_{20}$ inserts د after [illegible]. 19, 12. $K_{20}$ om. 19, 13. $K_{20}$ omits د. 20, 1. $H_7$ prefixes تو. 20, 2. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ om. 20, 5. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit final ر. 20, 7. $H_7$, $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ [illegible]. 20, 8. $H_7$ om. 20, 9. compare Pers. کِردك. 21, 3. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 21, 6. $H_7$ ور داشتن. 22, 6. $K_{20}$, $K_{26}$ omit د. 23, 10. $H_7$ وش, Pers. بسیار; $K_{20}$ omits د. 23, 16. $K_{20}$ has ر for د; the rest of $K_{26}$ is missing. 24, 1—6. $L_{15}$ om. 24, 4. $H_7$ آمد و به. 25, 2. $H_6$, $L_{15}$ have [illegible] for [illegible]; $H_7$ پران هاء, Pers. فرخ.

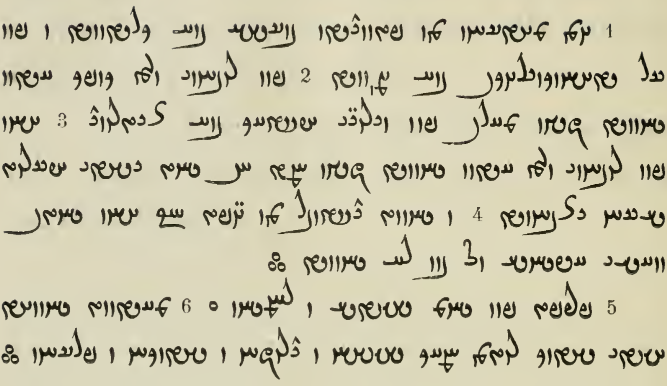


Fryânô, mûn Aûharmazd va *ameshôspendân levatman* lak yehevûnḍ hômand; zak-i lâ dânist hômanîh, lak râî barâ gûft hômand; 26 *va* li mûn aûmêḍ *barâ val* Akharman *va* shêdâân yekavîmûnâḍ, III frashnô min *Akharman* va *shêdâânŏ* pûrsîḍ, li râî *pasukhô* lâ dâḍ hômand.

27 Afash akhar, Gôsht-i Fryânô, *Akht-i yâtûk* râî, pavan hamzamânŏ, *kârḍ*-i *baresôm-chînŏ* pavan nîrang-i dînôîk, akâr barâ karḍ; va drûj, yîn tanû-i *val*, akâr barâ *karḍ*.

IV. 25, 9. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 25, 10. $L_{15}$ om. 26, 1. only in $K_{20}$. 26, 5. $K_{20}$ om. 26, 6. $H_7$ om. 26, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 26, 14. $H_6$ adds final [illegible]. 26, 16. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 26, 20. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, $L_{15}$ add final [illegible]. 27, 5—6. $K_{20}$ om. 27, 10. $H_7$ prefixes [illegible]. 27, 11. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 27, 22. for [illegible]. 27, 25. $H_7$ adds و کشت, and then ends.

# V. Postscript.



## V. Postscript.

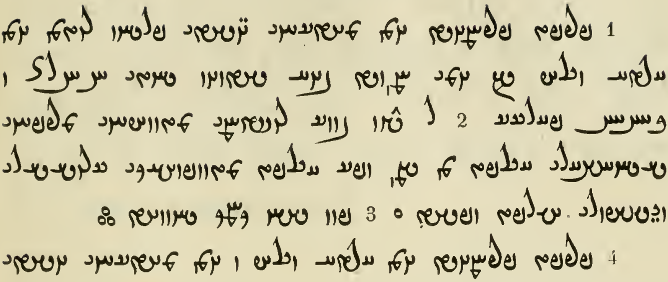
1 Denman mâḍîkânŏ *mûn paḍvandîḍŏ bandakîhâ* barâ karîtûnêḍ, va pavan sar *yat-âhûk-vêryôk*-I barâ yemalelunêḍ, 2 pavan rûbânô-i valman, kirfak *aĉtûn* yehevûnêḍ, chîgûn mâr-I pavan nîrang-i avistâk barâ zektelûnd; 3 ahvô pavan *rûbânô*-i valman *aĉtûn yehevûnêḍ*, chîgûn amat III shanat yesht-i avsrûḍ gâsân yezbekhûnêḍ; 4 *va* yehevûnḍ dastôbâr mûn gûft aîgh: Ahvô shanat-I vanâs-i ayazishnîh val bûn lâ yehevûnêḍ.

5 *Frajaft pavan shlam, shâḍîh va râmishnŏ.* 6 *Makhîtûnḍ yehevûnâḍ Akht-i yâtûk, levatman kamâk shêdâân va drûjân va yâtûkân va parîkânŏ.*

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V. This postscript occurs only in $H_6$ and $K_{20}$. 1, 3. in both. 1, 4. $K_{20}$ omits final. 1, 5. $K_{20}$ has for. 1, 11. Z. *yathâ ahû vairyô;* $K_{20}$ omits medial. 2, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final. 3, 3. $K_{20}$ omits final. 3, 5. $K_{20}$ adds final. 3, 6. $K_{20}$ om. 4, 1. $K_{20}$ om. 5, 1.—6, 13. only in $H_6$.

# VI. Colophons.

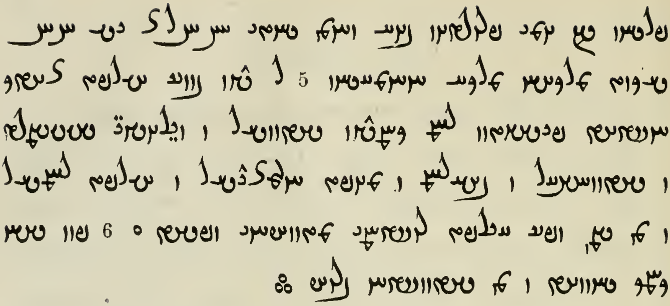


## VI. Colophons.

1 Frajaft farjâmînîḍ denman mâḍîkân-*i* Gôsht-i Fryânô, levatman denman Arḍâ-Vîrâf, yîn yôm-*i Amerôdaḍ*, bidanâ *Shatvêrô*, shanat-i DC *va XVIII Pârsîk;* 2 li, dînô bôndak, *Rûstâm-i* Mitrô-âpân-i Maŕz-pân-*i Dahishn-aîyyâr-i aêrpat*, min yadman *nipîk* aêrpat Mitrô-*panâhk*-i Srôsh-yâr-i Nîshâpûr-i aêrpat nipisht. 3 Pavan Yadadân kâmak yehe-vûnâḍ.

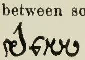
4 Frajaft farjâmînîḍ denman Arḍâ-Vîrâf, *va* denman mâḍîkân-i Gôsht-i

VI. The first colophon occurs both in $H_6$ and $K_{20}$, though the date and names differ; but the second colophon occurs only in $H_6$. 1, 4, 12. $K_{20}$ omits . 1, 13. $K_{20}$ *Rashnû va.* 1, 15. $K_{20}$ *Dînô.* 1, 18—20. $K_{20}$ *XC Yazdakarḍîk.* 2, 4. corrected from to agree with 5, 29; $K_{20}$ has *aêrpat zâḍ Mitrô-âpân Kaî-Khûsrôbô-i Mitrô-âpân Spen-dâḍ-i.* 2, 6. $K_{20}$ omits . 2, 7—8. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 11. the idhâfat must be understood here, and elsewhere, in the colophons. 2, 13. the is superfluous. 4, 6. substituted in the margin.



Fryânô, yîn yôm-i Fravardînŏ, bidanâ Vohûman, shanat-i DCCLXVI Yazdakard malkâân malkâ Aûharmazdakânŏ; 5 li, dînô bôndak, aêrpat zâdak, aûstâd, Pêshyôtanû Râm Kâm-dînô Shatrô-yâr *va* Nêryôsang, *Gâyômard va* Shatrô-aîyyâr *va* Bâhrâm *va* magôpat Hôrmazd-yâr *va* aêrpat Râm-yâr; va min yadman nipîk aêrpat Rûstâm-i Mitrô-âpân-*i* nipisht. 6 Pavan Yadadân kâmak yehevûnâd; va min shatrôstân *Brôhach.*

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VI. 5, 11, 14, 16, 18, 21. the conjunction ا used instead of the idhâfat د, and omitted between some of the other names in this genealogy. 5, 13. commonly written . 5, 30. د is probably superfluous, the writer having copied it from 2, 5, without observing that the omission of the succeeding names, renders it unnecessary here. 6, 8. Pers. بهروچ; Gujrâti *Bharuch*; this name is supplied from another colophon in $H_6$; the folio here being moth-eaten, so as to leave nothing legible but fragments of the letters ر and د.

The tale of

# Gôsht-i Fryânô.

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English translation

by

E. W. West, Ph. D.

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# Observations.

The same remarks apply to the text of this translation, as those prefixed to that of the book of Ardâ Vîrâf.

## Chapter I.

1 May this tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô [1] be fortunate through the assistance of God.

2 They say that, at the time when Akht, the sorcerer, with an army of seven myriads, went to the city of Enigma-expounders, 3 he also shouted thus: I will make the city of Enigma-expounders a beaten track for elephants. 4 And when he came thither, he also demanded a man that had not been negligent of the law of God from fifteen years *of age;* 5 and he asked him an enigma. 6 Everyone who was not able to solve it, was also seized and slain by him.

7 And afterwards, in that city of Enigma-expounders, was a man, Mârspend by name, 8 and he said to Akht, the sorcerer, thus: Make not the city of Enigma-expounders a beaten track for elephants, and slay not these innocent people; 9 for [2] in this city of Enigma-expoun-

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[1] The identity of this person with the *Yôishtô yô Fryananãm* of the Âbân Yasht 81, is well known to the Parsi priests, and was mentioned in Haug's 'Account of a tour in Gujarat, in 1863—64', p. 5, note. The passage, referring to him, in the Âbân Yasht 81—83, may be translated as follows: 'Yôishta, who was of the 'Fryânas, offered her the worship (contained) in a hundred of male horses, a thous- 'and of cattle, a myriad of new-born animals, on the shore (or island) of Ranha. 'Then he begged this favor of her: 'Grant me, O good and most gracious Ard- "visûra Anâhita, that I may be victorious over the evil Akhtya, the gloomy, and "that I may answer his questions, ninety and nine of the hard and maliciously "hurtful which the evil Akhtya, the gloomy, asked me". He is also mentioned in the Fravardîn Yasht 120, thus: 'We honor the *fravashi* of Yôishta of the Fryânas'.

[2] Or 'who are in this city of Enigma-expounders. There is a man', etc.; according to the reading of the MSS.

ders, there is a man, Gôsht-i Fryânô by name, who has not been negligent of the law from fifteen years *of age;* 10 and each enigma of those which thou askest him, he will explain to thee.

11 Then Akht, the sorcerer, sent a message to Gôsht-i Fryânô, 12 thus: Come up to my residence, so that I may ask thee thirty and three [1] enigmas; 13 and if thou givest no answer, or you say thus: 'I know not', then I will slay thee immediately.

14 And Gôsht-i Fryânô came to the residence of Akht, the sorcerer; 15 and because Akht, the sorcerer, had the dead matter [2] of men under the carpet, he went not in. 16 And he sent a message to Akht, the sorcerer, 17 thus: You have the dead matter of men under the carpet; 18 and when I come in, the archangels [3] are with me, in that place where the dead matter of men exists, and into which I come; 19 then my archangels withdraw from protecting me, 20 and afterwards I shall not be able to explain those enigmas which thou askest me.

21 Then Akht, the sorcerer, ordered *them* to carry away that carpet and covering, and to bring and lay [4] a new carpet; 22 and he also spoke, in his request to Gôsht-i Fryânô, 23 thus: Come, sit upon this covering and cushion, and truly explain the enigma which I ask thee.

24 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Felon and [5] wicked tyrant! I sit not upon this cushion; for in this cushion is the dead matter of men; 25 and with me are the angels [6] and archangels; they are my pro-

[1] Ninety-nine are mentioned in the Âbân Yasht, 82.

[2] Either some part of a dead body, or some refuse of a living one, such as hair, nail-parings, etc., by contact with which the 'pious' are defiled.

[3] The seven ameshâspends.

[4] Literally 'throw'.

[5] Literally 'felon of a wicked tyrant', which is precisely the common English way of putting epithets in apposition, as in the colloquial phrases: 'fool of a servant', 'rascal of a lawyer', 'knave of a priest', 'angel of a woman', etc.

[6] The yazads.

tection; 26 and *if* I shall sit upon this cushion, then my spirits withdraw from protecting me; 27 consequently it will not be possible for me to explain the enigmas which thou askest me.

28 And after Akht, the sorcerer, ordered *them* to carry away that cushion, and bring a new one, 29 Gôsht-i Fryânô sat upon that new cushion.

## Chapter II.

1 The first enigma Akht, the sorcerer, asked Gôsht-i Fryânô, was this: 2 Is the paradise in the world good, or that which is in heaven?

3 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living[1], felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead[2]; 4 for the paradise which is in the world, is better than that which is in heaven. 5 And a token of it is this, that anyone who performs no duty, nor good work, in the world, meets not there with censure therefrom. 6 And a second token for thee is this, that if thou shalt do, in the world, anything which is not virtuous, then thou comest not, through it, to the good paradise.

7 And Akht, the sorcerer, as soon as he heard those words, became confounded, 8 as though a man who performs a yesht[3], had become stupified. 9 And so he said thus: It is a misfortune for me, Akht the sorcerer, owing to thee, Gôsht-i Fryânô, that thou art victorious over me. 10 As a strong man over the strongest man, and a strong horse over the strongest horse, and a strong bull over the strongest bull, as the sky over the earth, thou art predominant[4].

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[1] Literally 'in the misery of the living'.

[2] Literally 'to the hell of the dead'.

[3] A thanksgiving, with invocation and praise of some particular angel, or archangel; the recitation of which, in an unknown tongue, if long continued, is very apt to deaden the faculties.

[4] That is, merely through accident, or circumstances; not through natural strength, or intellect.

11 For I have slain, through this enigma, nine hundred Magian men, 12 who had so much performed their worship of God, that on account of drinking so much hôm-juice, all their bodies had become yellow. 13 I also slew the nine daughters of Spîtâma[1], although through glorifying the religion, they obtained a crown, *inlaid* with gold and pearls, from the rulers. 14 When I asked them, and they said that the paradise which is in heaven is good, 15 I said thus: As you deem it good, so also it is well that you go to that good paradise. 16 And I took and slew them.

17 The second enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, which sits on its posteriors higher than it stands on foot?

18 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 19 for that is a dog.

20 The third enigma he asked, was this: What is that, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, which walks and plants no footstep?

21 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 22 for that is a sparrow which walks and plants no footstep[2].

23 The fourth enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, whose tooth is horny, and horn fleshy?

24 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 25 for they call that a cock, the bird of Srôsh the pious; 26 and when it crows, it keeps away the misfortunes of life from the creatures of Aûharmazd.

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[1] Spîtâmân in Pahlavî, the usual orthography for Spitama, the ancestor of Zarathushtra; although it is also a patronymical adjective, meaning 'the Spitaman', or 'descendant of Spitama'. But as Zarathushtra had only three daughters, the name Spîtâmân cannot refer to him here.

[2] That is, takes no stride, but merely hops.

27 The fifth enigma he asked, was this: Is a small knife good, or little eating?

28 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 29 for a small knife is better than little eating; 30 since it is proper to cut and collect the baresôm [1] with a small knife; 31 and little eating reaches not to the belly, and if it reaches, it produces wind.

32 The sixth enigma he asked, was this: What is full? and what is that which is half full? and what is that which is never full?

33 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 34 for that which is full is fame which is powerful [2] here, and when it shall pass away, the soul is pious; 35 that which is half full is indigent misery whose life is wretched, *and* when it shall die, the soul is pious; 36 and that which is empty, which is never full, is that misery whose life is wretched, *and* when it shall die, the soul is wicked.

37 The seventh enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing which men wish to conceal, and it is not possible for them to conceal it?

38 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 39 for that is old age which no one is able to conceal; 40 for old age is self-evident.

41 The eighth enigma he asked, was this: Which is that living man who sees Astî-vîhâḍ [3] and dies, and his wish is so that he may go back to the living; 42 and again also he sees Astî-vîhâḍ and will die, and it appears to him easy?

43 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst

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[1] The small twigs of the pomegranate, tamarisk, or date, tree which are tied together in a small bundle and have to be present at all the sacrificial ceremonies of the Parsis.

[2] Or 'wealthy'.

[3] The demon of death.

living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 44 for that is the man who has performed no worship [1] and has drunk no hôm-juice; 45 and a second is that man who has come to the time of marriage, and has not married a wife; 46 and a third is that man who has not honored a living soul, and has not given alms [2], and has not performed the worship of God, and of his alms to the good man he said thus: 'I give', and he has not given; 47 and *when* he dies, his wish is so that he may go back to the living; 48 and again also he dies, and sees Astî-vîhâḍ, and it appears to him easy.

49 The ninth enigma he asked, was this: In how many months do the elephant and the horse and the camel and the ass and the cow and the sheep and woman and the dog and the pig and the cat give birth?

50 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 51 for the elephant gives birth in three years, and the horse and camel and ass give birth in twelve months, and the cow and woman give birth in nine months, and the sheep gives birth in five months, and the dog and pig give birth in four months, and the cat gives birth in forty days.

52 The tenth enigma he asked, was this: Which man [3] lives in more pleasure and more comfort?

53 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 54 for that man lives in more pleasure and more comfort, who is more unalarmed and contented and more wealthy.

55 The eleventh enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing which, in the world, is like unto Aûharmazd and the archangels?

56 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 57 for

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[1] Or 'thanksgiving'.

[2] Literally: 'a pious gift'.

[3] Literally: 'Which of mankind'.

in the world, a ruler is like unto Aûharmazd and the archangels; 58 and the abode [1] of rulers is like the resplendent Garôḏmânô [2]; 59 and the ministers of rulers are like unto the archangels, 60 and are in the residence of kings [3], like unto that constellation which they call Parvîz [4]; 61 other men, when they are industrious and skilful, are like unto the other small stars which are in the sky.

62 The twelfth enigma he asked, was this: Of food, which is the more agreeable and more savory?

63 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 64 for of food, that is the more savory and more agreeable, which is acquired by means [5] of honest exertion, and duties and good works consume it again and possess it.

65 The thirteenth enigma he asked, was this: Which is the one? and which, the two? and which, the three? and which, the four? and which, the five? and which, the six? and which, the seven? and which, the eight? and which, the nine? and which are the ten?

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[1] Literally: 'place'.

[2] The highest paradise, or heaven of Aûharmazd; literally: 'the abode of song'; see Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak X.—XI.

[3] Or 'kings in residence are'.

[4] Generally identified with the Pleiades, which were considered by the ancients to be seven in number (although one of them had become invisible) and might, therefore, be readily compared with the heavenly council of the seven Ameshâspends. In the Bundehesh, Parvîz is the third lunar mansion which, allowing for the precession of the equinoxes, must have best corresponded with the Pleiades about 1800 years ago. Its Zand name is *Paurvanya* but the 'star-studded, spirit-fashioned, Paurvanyan girdle' of Yas. IX. 26, may perhaps be a much older application of the name, to the more brilliant seven stars of Orion, which would have well represented the third lunar mansion, some 3500 years ago. It would be hazardous to assume that the introduction of the name Parvîz into the text, is any allusion to Khûsrô Parvîz who reigned from A. D. 590 to 628; otherwise, this passage might afford a means of estimating the age of the Pahlavî text.

[5] Literally: 'from the way'.

66 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 67 for the One is the good sun, which keeps the whole world illumined; 68 and the Two are the inhaling and exhaling [1] of the breath; 69 and the Three are the good thoughts and good words and good deeds; 70 and the Four are water and earth and trees and beasts; 71 and the Five are the five good Kayanians [2]; 72 and the Six are the six times of the Gâhanbârs [3]; 73 and the Seven are the seven archangels; 74 and the Eight are the eight good celebrities [4]; 75 and the Nine are the nine openings in the bodies of men; 76 and the Ten are the ten fingers on the hands of men.

## Chapter III.

1 The twenty and third [5] enigma he asked, was this: What is the colder?

2 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 3 for it is not so as thou thinkest, but so as I know; 4 and it is thus thou thinkest, that the snow is colder which remains on the mountain, and the sun never warms it; 5 but it is not so as thou thinkest, for the mind of a wicked man is colder. 6 And a token of it is this, that thou, Akht

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[1] Literally: 'fetching and carrying'.

[2] These five Persian kings were Kaî-Kabâd, Kaî-Kahûs, Kaî-Khûsrôv, Kaî-Lôrâsp and Kaî-Gushtâsp.

[3] The season festivals held respectively on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th and 365th days of the Parsi year, which begins now on the 21st September, according to the reckoning of the Indian Parsis.

[4] Or 'stories'. It is uncertain what celebrated octade of notables, or legends, is here referred to.

[5] With regard to the apparent omission of nine enigmas, between this and the thirteenth, see the note in the transliteration of the Pahlavî text.

the sorcerer, hast[1] a brother who is wicked; 7 and as many handfuls of poison[2] as reside in his heart, thou art not able to melt, not with the sun and not with the fire; 8 and when I take it in the palm of my hand, it will melt.

9 Then Akht, the sorcerer, ordered *them* to bring and slay his own brother, and to take away the poison from the heart; 10 *but* he was not able to melt it, not with the sun and not with the fire; 11 and Gôsht-i Fryânô took it up in the palm of the hand, and melted it.

12 The twenty and fourth enigma he asked, was this: What is the hotter?

13 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 14 for the palm of the hand of a pious man is the hotter; 15 and a token *of it* for thee is this, that it was not possible to melt thy brother's poison, not with the sun and not with the fire; 16 but when taken up in the palm of my hand, it melted away.

17 The twenty and fifth enigma he asked, was this: What is good *when* it goes down? and what is good *when* it is chilled? and what is good when[3] it shall die?

18 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 19 for water is good which goes down; and fire is good which is chilled; and a felon and wicked tyrant, like thee, is good who shall die. 20 Since, if water goes not down, and fire cools not, and a felon and wicked tyrant, like thee, dies not, 21 then so the whole world would be full of water and fire, and full of felons and wicked tyrants, like thee, and it would not be possible to preserve the world.

22 The twenty and sixth enigma he asked, was this: What is

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[1] Literally: 'that for thee, Akht the sorcerer, is'.

[2] Or perhaps 'gall'.

[3] In the text 'which', but the Huzvâresh *mûn*, 'which', is often substituted for *amat*, 'when'; the Pâzand of both being *ka* or *ke*.

heavier than a mountain? 23 and what is sharper than a steel knife? 24 and what is sweeter than honey? 25 and what is fatter than the tail of a sheep?[1] 26 and what is more liberal than the liberal? 27 and what is juster than the just?

28 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 29 for falsehood and irreverence are heavier[2] than a mountain; 30 and the tongues of men are sharper than a steel knife; 31 and a child of fortune[3] is sweeter than honey, for its father and mother; 32 and the earth and rain of Spendarmad[4] are fatter than the tail of a sheep; 33 and Tîshtar, the angel, is more liberal than the liberal; 34 and juster than the just is Vâyô[5] the good, who is no favorer of any person, and takes no bribe, and has justice for the lord and the slave, one with the other.

35 The twenty and seventh enigma he asked, was this: Which foot is the better and handsomer? 36 because of the many feet which I have seen, her foot is the handsomest and best which I have seen, who is Hû-parsh, thy sister and my wife.

37 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 38 for the foot of Water[6] is handsomer and better. 39 And a token *of it* for thee is this, that there where Water places a foot, vegetation will grow; 40 and there where Hû-parsh places a foot, will be dry.

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[1] Referring to the fat-tailed species of sheep, common in some parts of Asia and Africa.

[2] That is, 'more burdensome'.

[3] Or 'affliction', if the Pahlavî be *ranjoîh*, as seems likely.

[4] The female archangel of the earth, 'the bountiful Ârmaiti'; perhaps the rain is misplaced in the Pahlavî text, as it is the special gift of Tîshtar, see Mkh. LXII. 41—42.

[5] The 'air', a name of the angel Râm; but the actions here attributed to him, are rather those of Rashn, the just, the weigher of the actions of men.

[6] The female angel of water, *Ardvî-sûra Anâhita;* see the Âbân Yasht.

41 The twenty and eighth enigma he asked, was this: Whence is the great pleasure of women?

42 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 43 for it is not so as thou thinkest, but so as I know; 44 for it is thus thou thinkest, that the great pleasure of women is from various kinds of dress and seemly housewifery, when they have them. 45 However, it is not so; the great pleasure of women is from being with their own husbands.

46 Akht the sorcerer said thus: You speak false[1], and through this enigma I will slay thee; 47 now come along, I will go unto Hû-parsh, to her who is thy sister and my wife, 48 and she never told a lie, nor tells it, and by her word I will abide.

49 Gôsht-i Fryânô was acquiescent; and Akht the sorcerer, with Gôsht-i Fryânô, went into the presence of Hû-parsh; 50 and they also spoke thus: Sit down, and explain this enigma truly. 51 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Is the great pleasure of women from dress of various kinds and seemly housewifery, when they have them? 52 or is their great pleasure from being with their own husbands?

53 Then Hû-parsh thought thus: A dilemma indeed has come to me, which thing is the felon and wicked tyrant, the sorcerer, as he will not cease till he shall slay me; 54 and since if I speak false, then he will slay my brother, and I shall become wicked, and so it will be well that I speak true; 55 and moreover, if I speak false, I shall be wicked myself, and he will destroy the law and religion and custom[2]; but when he slays me through[3] truth, I shall be more pious. 56 And she covered over her head with a veil, and spoke out 57 thus: The great pleasure of women is from dress of various kinds and seemly

[1] Or 'he speaks false', or perhaps 'a lie is spoken', as the Huz. *yemalelûnêd* appears to be used for the past participle, as well as for the present tense.

[2] By slaying her brother, who was their main support.

[3] That is, 'because of'.

housewifery; 58 but when they are without cohabitation, *they are* in pain and uneasiness, and those pleasures are nothing whatever but pain and discomfort; 59 and when they have cohabitation [1], then they are in greater pleasure.

60 And afterwards, Akht the sorcerer, when he heard those words, became angry [2], and slew Hû-parsh at once. 61 And the soul of Hû-parsh went, at once, to Garôdmanô [3]; 62 and it cried thus: Good am I; hitherto I have been pious, and now I am still more pious; 63 but evil art thou, Akht the sorcerer; hitherto thou hast been wicked, and now *thou hast* become still more wicked.

64 The twenty and ninth enigma he asked, was this: What is that which *has* ten feet [4], and three heads, and six eyes, and six ears, and two tails, and three pair of testicles, and two hands [5], and three noses, and four horns, and three backs, and the life and preservation of the whole world *comes* from it?

65 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 66 for it is thus declared by the religion, that when the call of nature [6] arises, it is not the custom to explain the enigma they ask.

67 And Akht, the sorcerer, said thus: Go and sit down [7] in a neighbouring place, and attend to the call of nature, and come again quickly, and truly explain the enigma; 68 for if you speak false, or if you say thus: 'I know not', then I will slay thee at once.

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[1] Literally: 'when cohabitation is with them'.

[2] Literally; 'seized anger'; the usual Persian idiom.

[3] The highest paradise.

[4] Or 'legs'.

[5] Or 'arms'.

[6] According to the explanation in the Persian text, which seems probable; *pêshkâr* is a euphemism analogous to *pêshyâr* and *pêshâb*.

[7] Europeans should bear in mind, that it is a sin for a Mazdayasnian to make water whilst standing.

69 And Gôsht-i Fryânô went out, and sat down upon a stone[1]; 70 and he thought, in his mind, thus: A dilemma indeed has come to me, which is this felon and wicked tyrant, and which ceases not till he shall slay; 71 for if those who are living, and moreover those who are dead, become living again, had to explain this enigma, they would not be able.

72 Afterwards, Aûharmazd the lord, sent Nêryôsang the angel, with a message to Gôsht-i Fryânô, 73 and he said to him thus: Give the answer of the enigma, which is this: 'It is a yoke of oxen, with 'a man who performs ploughing and tillage'. 74 And Gôsht-i Fryânô, as he heard a voice and then saw no one, was doubtful; 75 and he thought, in his mind, thus: Nay but if they be Akharman and the demons, and their desire and wish be this, that they shall slay me; 76 and if I give this enigma such an answer, then that felon and wicked tyrant will slay me.

77 And afterwards, Nêryôsang, the angel, came near to Gôsht-i Fryânô, 78 and he said thus: Fear not, for I am Nêryôsang the angel, I am sent to thee, 79 and it is said by him who is Aûharmazd, the lord, thus: 'Give the answer of this enigma; for the enigma is a yoke 'of oxen, with a man who performs tillage'. 80 And Gôsht-i Fryânô, when he heard those words, then became extremely joyful[2]. 81 Immediately, he went into the presence of Akht the sorcerer, and said 82 thus: Lo![3] felon and wicked tyrant, the answer of this enigma is this: 'for this is a yoke of oxen, with a man who performs ploughing 'for cultivation'.

83 And Akht, the sorcerer, when he heard those words, at once became confounded, and remained confounded three days and nights. 84 And after three days and nights, he returned to consciousness, and

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[1] That is, a stone used as a seat in the ceremony of purification.

[2] Or 'the afflicted became joyful'.

[3] Or perhaps, 'this is it'.

said to Gôsht-i Fryânô, 85 thus: The enigmas are thine[1], Gôsht-i Fryânô, who puttedst trust in[2] Aûharmazd, the lord, who comes immediately to *thy* support and assistance.

86 The thirtieth enigma he asked, was this: Which horse is the better?

87 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 88 for the male horse which is extolled[3], and with a pedigree, is good; when they ought to keep it with the horses of royalty[4].

89 The thirty and first enigma he asked, was this: What is that which is dry and will not burn?[5] and what is that which is damp and will burn?[6]

90 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 91 for that is dust which is dry and burns not, and it is grease which is damp and will burn[6].

92 The thirty and second enigma he asked, was this: Which king is good?

93 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 94 for that king is the better who is the more merciful, and is excellent in wisdom and knowledge, and he is fond of the creation[7].

95 The thirty and third enigma he asked, was this: How many riches are there for thee, Gôsht-i Fryânô?

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[1] Or 'happily is it for thee', according to some MSS.

[2] Literally: 'whose trust clung to'.

[3] Or perhaps, 'swift'.

[4] Or perhaps, 'blackness', an epithet of the Arabs; but both the text and translation of this sentence, are doubtful.

[5] Or 'but burns not'.

[6] Or 'but burns'.

[7] Literally: 'and kindness for the creation is with him'.

96 Gosht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 97 for there are three riches for me: one is that which I eat; and one, that which I wear; and one, that which I give to the poor and worthy.

## Chapter IV.

1 Afterwards, Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: The thirty and three enigmas, asked me by thee, are all truly explained; 2 now I ask thee three enigmas; if thou givest no answer, I will slay *thee* immediately. 3 And Akht, the sorcerer, said thus: Ask, so that I may explain.

4 And Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: How much is the value of the seed of one cubit of land? 5 And the second he asked, was this: How much is the value of the ploughing of one ox? 6 And the third he asked, was this: How much is the value of the duty and good work of one next-of-kin marriage?

7 Akht, the sorcerer, knew not, and he said thus: The call of nature arises, and it is not the custom to explain the enigma they ask. 8 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Go and sit down in a neighbouring place, and attend to the call of nature, and come again quickly, and truly explain these three enigmas; 9 for if you say thus: 'I know not', then I will slay thee immediately.

10 Akht, the sorcerer, through sorcery, rushed into hell; 11 and he shouted to Akharman, thus: Accursed! how much is the value of the seed of one cubit of land? 12 and second, thus: how much is the value of the ploughing of one ox? 13 and third, how much is the value of the duty and good work of a next-of-kin marriage?

14 The accursed Akharman shouted to Akht, the sorcerer, thus: I am not able to answer these enigmas of thine; 15 for, if I shall speak, my creatures *will* all depart, with the demons and demonesses and witches; 16 and I have not more friendship for thee than for my own creatures. 17 Should I give thee the answer of these enigmas which thou hast asked me, 18 all my creatures will become inefficient, and

nothing whatever of opposition will remain, 19 owing to the efficiency which will come upon the creatures of Aûharmazd[1]; and the resurrection of the dead and the future body would occur[2] immediately. 20 Go and put forth *thy* neck; it is not a breach of promise, though he preserves the enigma; 21 and when the time has arrived, it is not possible to avert it; 22 for thy place is hell, and thy punishment is more severe than *that of* all the wicked.

23 And Akht, the sorcerer, rushed up from hell hopeless, and was brought, for his destruction, into the presence of Gôsht-i Fryânô. 24 And Akht, the sorcerer, said to Gôsht-i Fryânô 25 thus: The enigmas are thine[3], Gôsht-i Fryânô, with whom have been Aûharmazd and the archangels; that which thou hast not known, they have said for thee; 26 but I, whose trust rested on Akharman and the demons, asked three enigmas of Akharman and the demons, *and* for me they have given no answer.

27 And after that, Gôsht-i Fryânô destroyed[4] Akht the sorcerer, at once, with the nîrang (*religious formula*) of the baresôm-gathering knife, and destroyed[4] the demoness in his body.

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[1] Such appears to be the meaning of the Pahlavî text.

[2] Literally: 'would be', or 'is'.

[3] Or 'happily is it for thee', according to some MSS.

[4] Literally: 'rendered useless'.

# V. Postscript.[1]

1 Whoever shall read this tale together with *his* servants[2], and shall say one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[3] at the end, 2 the good work, in his soul, is such as though they should kill a snake with the nîrang[4] of the Avesta; 3 the spiritual life, in his soul, is such as when he offers up the prayers[5] of the recited Gâthas for three years; 4 and there was a destûr who said, that there is no spiritual life at the end of[6] one year's sin of non-worship.

5 Completed in health, pleasure and joy. 6 May Akht, the sorcerer, be destroyed, with all the demons and demonesses and sorcerers and witches.

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# VI. Colophons.[7]

1 Completed *and* ended this tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô, with this Ardâ Vîrâf, on the day of Amerdâd, the month Shahrîwar, the Parsi

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[1] The first paragraph of this postscript, may have been written by the author of the tale, as it occurs in both the old MSS.; but the second paragraph is found in only one MS.

[2] Or perhaps, 'to *his* kindred and servants'.

[3] One of the most sacred religious formulas of the Parsis, which ought to be recited before and after any act of importance; in some cases, several times.

[4] A religious formula used in such cases as a charm, or exorcism.

[5] Or 'praise'.

[6] That is, 'after'.

[7] These colophons are given as they stand in $H_6$; the first one also occurs in $K_{20}$, with variations merely in the date and name of the copyist; so that both of these old MSS. are traced back to the same original, the MS. of Mihrpanâh Srôshyâr of Nîshâpûr, which was existing in the first half of the thirteenth century A. D. The names are translated into their Persian form.

year 618 [1]; 2 written by me, the servant of the religion, Rustam *son* of Mihrbân, *son* of Marzabân [2], *son* of Dahishyâr, the herbad, from the handwriting [3] of herbad Mihrpanâh, *son* of Srôshyâr of Nîshâpûr, the herbad. 3 May it be with the will of God.

4 Completed *and* ended this Ardâ Vîrâf, and this tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô, on the day of Fravardîn, the month Bahman, the year 766 of Yazdagard [4], king of kings, son of Aûharmazd; 5 written by me, the servant of the religion, the herbad's son, the teacher Pêshyôtan, *son of* Râm, *son of* Kâmdîn, *son of* Shahriyâr, *son of* Bahrâm, *son of* the môbad Hôrmazdyâr, *son of* the herbad Râmyâr; and from the handwriting of the herbad Rustam, *son* of Mihrbân. 6 May it be with the will of God; and *it is* from the city of Bhrôch.

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[1] Corresponding to the 18th July A.D. 1249, if written in India, where the Rasmî computation would be used.

[2] The copyist named in $K_{20}$, is 'the herbad's son Mihrbân, *son of* Kaî-Khûsrô, *son of* Mihrbân, *son of* Spendâd *(elsewhere, Spend-dâd)*, *son of* Mihrbân, *son of* Marzabân'; identifying the last two names with the same names in $H_6$, we may conclude that the Spendâd of $K_{20}$ was a brother of the Rustam of $H_6$, and therefore, Mihrbân, the copyist mentioned in $K_{20}$, was a great grand-nephew of Rustam, the copyist mentioned in $H_6$; this conclusion is confirmed by the date mentioned in $K_{20}$, which corresponds to the 8th November A.D. 1321, or 72 years later than the date given in $H_6$, which interval would be necessary for the three generations inferred from the genealogy.

[3] That is, MS.

[4] Corresponding to the 20th November A.D. 1397; the year in which the MS. $H_6$ was written.

# Appendix II.

## The three Fargards

of the

# Hâḍôkht Nask

which are still extant.

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# The Zand and Pahlavî Texts,

with a transliteration of the Pahlavî,

and various readings.

(Westergaard's Yasht Fragments XXI. 1.—XXII. 36.)

Edited by

M. Haug, Ph. D.

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# Observations.

The same remarks apply to this text as to the foregoing. The Zand and Pahlavî versions alternate as they are found in the MSS., and the sentences are numbered in accordance with those alternations; but the numbers of Westergaard's sections are also given, in the margin, for the convenience of the student. Additional sentences in the Pahlavî version are marked *a)*, as supplementary to the preceding sentence.

The transliteration applies only to the Pahlavî text, and phrases which are merely explanatory of the preceding words, are marked as parentheses, when transliterated.

In the various readings, all references marked Z., relate to the Zand text, in which the words alluded to, are marked with an asterisk *, and the components of compound words are counted separately. Besides the MSS. $H_6$ and $K_{20}$, which have been previously described, some references are made to the following:

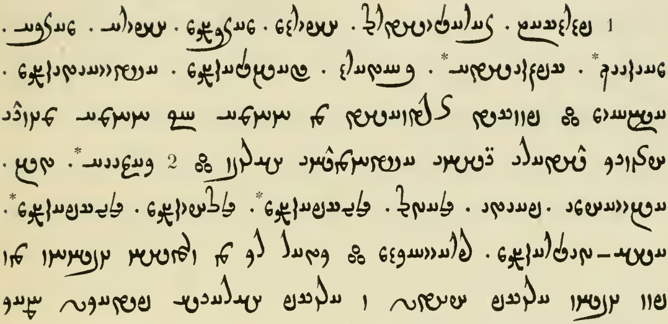
$K_{21}$ — the Kopenhagen MS. No. 21, which is a careless and modern copy of $K_{20}$.

$P_7$ — the Paris MS. No. 7 of Anquetil's collection, which is a somewhat older copy of $K_{20}$.

The variations of the Zand version in $K_{20}$, $K_{21}$ and $P_7$ are taken from Westergaard's published text, which is very correct, but does not notice some of the minor variations in orthography. Some variations, indicated by G., have been taken from a Gujarâti transliteration of the Zand text, contained in the Farjîât-e Jaratoshtî, Bombay, A.Y. 1207 (A.D. 1838), which may have been derived from other MSS. The Pahlavî version, however, has been settled from a collation of the two old MSS. $H_6$ and $K_{20}$.

## Chapter I.

[Westergaard's Yasht Fragment XXI. 1—17.]



1

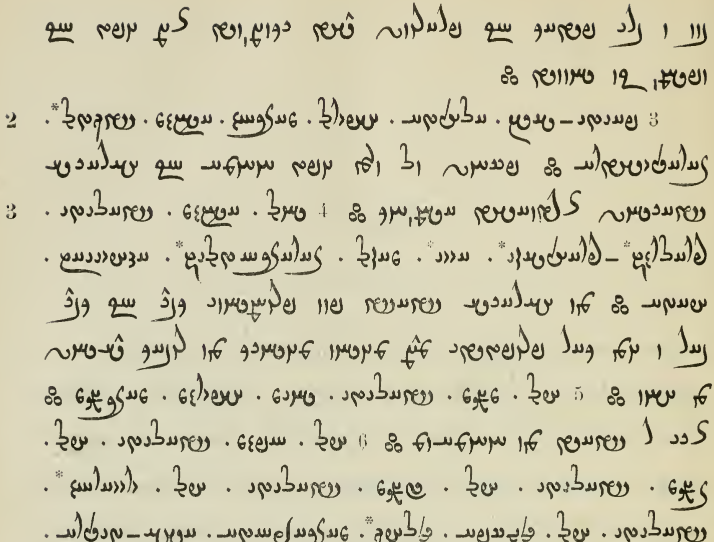
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## Chapter I.

[Pahlavî.] 1 Pûrsîḍ *Zaratûhasht* min Aûharmazd aîgh: Aûharmazd, mînavad-i afzûnîk, dâḍâr-*i* gêhân-i ast-hômandân-*i* yasharûbŏ, 2 kaḍâr lak min valmanshân *gûbishnânŏ* mûn pavan *gûbishnŏ* harvisp *âvâḍîh* va harvisp yasharâîsh pêḍâkîh hamâk

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I. Z. 1, 7. $H_6$ has for . Z. 1, 8. $K_{20}$ has for . 1, 2. $K_{20}$ omits , here and elsewhere. 1, 9. both omit *i*. 1, 11. $K_{20}$ has for . Z. 2, 1. compare Z. *ahmya* and *yahmya*; all the MSS. have for , which is a blunder easily made. Z. 2, 6, 8. $H_6$ has for , here and elsewhere. 2, 5, 8. $K_{20}$ omits final . 2, 10. or perhaps *âzâḍîh*.

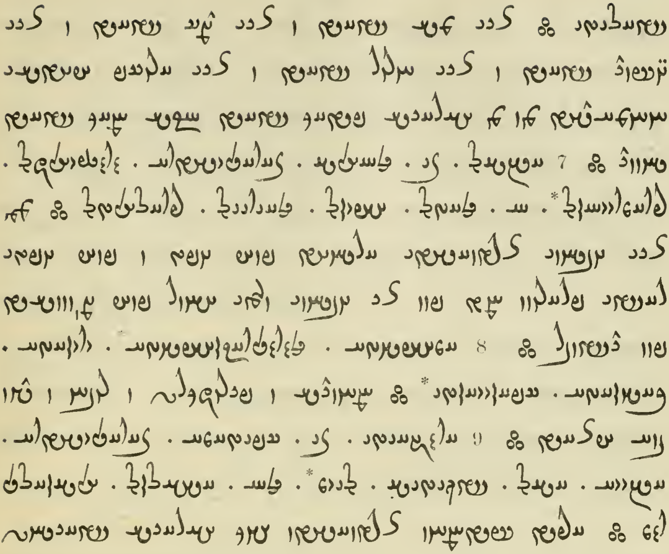


bûn *va* bar-*i* pêḍâk aîgh frârûnîh dâḍ yekavîmûnêḍ, zyam gûft aîgh: Nafshman ghal yehevûnêḍ?

3 Pasukhôîh val valman gûft Aûharmazd, aîgh: Yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh Zaratûhasht, ashem-vohûk. 4 Mûn yasharâîsh stâyêḍ pavan franâmishnŏ-i kabed (aîgh kabed bâr) *va* denman kâr *frôpatêḍ-i madam* mînishnŏ mînishnîk mûn rûbâk-*dahishnîh* min *ahrô*. 5 Zak-i li stâyaḍ mûn Aûharmazd-ôm,

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I. 2, 17. $H_6$ om. 2, 18. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. Z. 3, 7. all but $H_6$ have [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 4, 4—5. $K_{20}$ [illegible] . [illegible]. Z. 4, 6. [illegible] in all, but see Visp. XIV. 2. Z. 4, 8. all omit the second [illegible]. 4, 10. [illegible] in Visp. XIV. 2. 4, 13—14. [illegible] in Visp. XIV. 2. 4, 19. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 4, 21. Visp. XIV. 2. adds [illegible]. Z. 6, 11. G. has [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 6, 15. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible].



6 zak-*i* mayâ stâyaḍ, *va* zak-*i* damîk stâyaḍ, *va* zak-*i* gôspend stâyaḍ, va zak-*i* aûrvar stâyaḍ, va zak-*i* harvisp *âvâḍîh-i* Aûharmazd-dâḍ, mûn min yasharâîsh pêḍâk stâyaḍ (*aîghash* hamâk stâyaḍ yehevûnd). 7 Maman zak-*i* gûbishnŏ-*i* Zaratûhasht-i arshûkht frâz gûft, *va* frâz gûft-*i* râst-*i* frârûnŏ, amat pavan zak gûbishnŏ-*i* valman-*i* Ahû-ver frâz yemalelûnî-aît pavan dastôbar; 8 amâvandîh va pîrûzkarîh va rûbân va dînô barâ afzâyaḍ. 9 Arjêḍ, *Spîtâmânŏ* Zaratûhashtar; khadûk yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh,

I. 6, 1. both omit . 6, 4, 8. $K_{20}$ omits . 6, 5, 9, 13. $H_6$ omits . 6, 17. both omit . 6, 19. or *âzâḍîh-i;* $H_6$ omits . 6, 26. $K_{20}$ omits . Z. 7, 6. all but $H_6$ have  for . 7, 2. $K_{20}$ omits . 7, 3. $H_6$ omits . 7, 8. $H_6$ omits . 7, 10. $K_{20}$ omits . 7, 11. $K_{20}$ has  for . 7, 16. $H_6$ omits . 7, 17. $K_{20}$ omits . Z. 8, 2.  only in $H_6$. Z. 8, 5. G. has  for . Z. 9, 8.  in all but $H_6$. 9, 2. $K_{20}$ omits final .

[illegible] 10 [illegible]

[illegible]

6 [illegible] 11 [illegible]

[illegible]

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ashem-vohûk aê, *khadûf* khadûk *yasharûbân shnâyaḍârîh*, 10 C *khvâp*, va M bisrayâ-khûrishnîh, va bêvar mâyûḍ chîgûn *mûn* C *khvâp* barâ khelmûnêḍ, va M bâr bisrayâ barâ vashtamûnêḍ, va bêvar bâr mâyûḍ barâ vajârêḍ, kaḍârchâî min tanûân, amatash barâ *min* tanû *rasishnŏ khayâ* yâmtûnêḍ; zak and arjêḍ.

11 Kaḍâr yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh, *ashem vohû, 1 mûn min X zak-i zakâî yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh* mas va

---

I. 9, 9. *khad* substituted for *ay*. 9, 11. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 9, 12. so in both, but more commonly [illegible]. Z. 10, 1. G. condenses the remainder of the chapter into the following words: *dasa gĕush qareitinăm, satem pascha franharetanăm, hazanrem qafnanăm, baêvare tê qafnâḍ fraghrisemnanăm kanhâoschiḍ tanunăm parô-asti jasôithyâo*; omitting further details. Z. 10, 3. $H_6$ inserts [illegible] after [illegible]. Z. 10, 5. $K_{20}$, $P_7$ have [illegible] for last [illegible]. 10, 2, 13. [illegible] for [illegible], or [illegible], here and elsewhere. 10, 11. $K_{20}$ om. 10, 33. $K_{20}$ om. 10, 35—36. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. Z. 11, 9. $H_6$ [illegible]; $K_{20}$ [illegible]; but see 16, 9. and 21, 9. 11, 4—13. $K_{20}$ om.

[illegible]

12 [illegible] 7
[illegible]
[illegible] 13 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 14 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 15 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
16 [illegible] 8

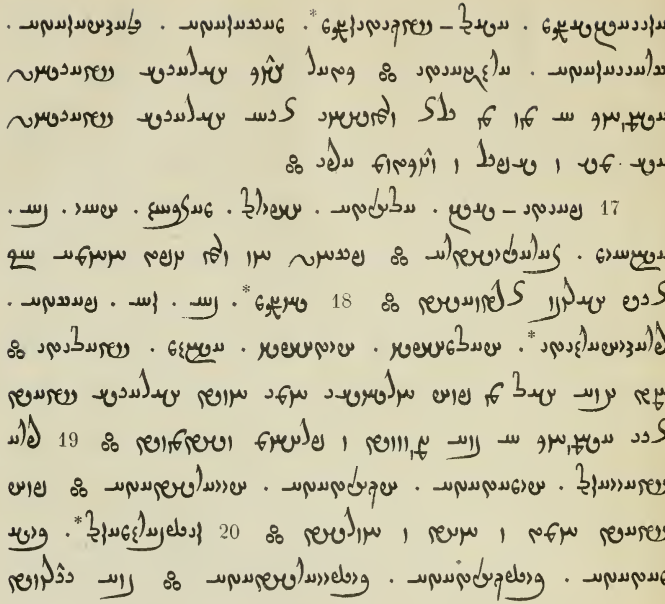
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shapîr *va* nadûktûm kasp?

12 *Pasukhôîh* avŏ valman gûft Aûharmazd aîgh: Zakîch, yasharûbŏ Zaratûhasht, 13 am:t gabrâ frâz-khûrishnîh-*i* Horvadaḍ va Amerôdaḍ. *va* yasharâîsh stâyaḍ. zak-*i* Ashem-vohû valman *yemalelûnêḍ; va* akhar *Srôsh* drônô vashtamûnêḍ, 14 frâz stâyaḍ hûmat va hûkht va *hûvarshtô*, aîgh stâyaḍ *yehevûnêḍ*, 15 barâ yedrûnêḍ dûshmat *va* dûshhûkht va dûsh-hûvarshtô, aîghash barâ yedrûnḍ *yehevûnêḍ*.

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I. 11, 17. $K_{20}$ om. Z. 12, 6. $H_6$ [illegible]. 12, 1. $K_{20}$ adds [illegible] to [illegible]. Z. 13, 1. $H_6$ omits [illegible]. Z. 13, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 13, 4. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 13, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 13, 11. $H_6$ omits [illegible]. 13, 15. both omit [illegible]. 13, 16. $K_{20}$ om. 13, 18. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 14, 7. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 14, 10. $K_{20}$ om. Z. 15, 1. last [illegible] only in $H_6$. 15, 4. $H_6$ om. 15, 11. $H_6$ [illegible]; $K_{20}$ [illegible]. Z. 16, 4, 9. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible].



16 Kaḏâr khadûk yasharâîsh-*stâyishnîh*, Ashem-vohûk *aê*, mûn min C valmanshân-i zakâî yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh *ash* mas va shapîr va nadûktûm arj-*i*?

17 *Pasukhôîh* avŏ valman gûft Aûharmazd aîgh: Zakîch, yasharûbŏ *Zaratûhasht*, 18 amat gabrâ, akhar min frâz-khûrishnîh-i hôm-i hûnîḏ, yasharâîsh stâyaḏ, zak-*i* Ashem-vohûk aê barâ *yemalelûnêḏ*, va parâ-hôm vashtamûnêḏ; 19 frâz stâyaḏ hûmat va hûkht va *hûvarsht*, 20 barâ yedrûnêḏ

I. 16, 4. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 16, 6. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 16, 14. $K_{20}$ om. 16, 20. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 17, 1. $K_{20}$ adds [illegible] to [illegible]. 17, 9. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. Z. 18, 1. all omit [illegible]. Z. 18, 5. $H_6$ has [illegible] for final [illegible]. 18, 11. $H_6$ omits [illegible]. 18, 15. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 19, 7. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. Z. 20, 1. last [illegible] only in $H_6$.

[Pahlavi text]

21 [Pahlavi text] 10

[Pahlavi text]

22 [Pahlavi text] 11

[Pahlavi text] 23 [Pahlavi text]

[Pahlavi text] 24 [Pahlavi text]

[Pahlavi text] [continue as in 19—20.]

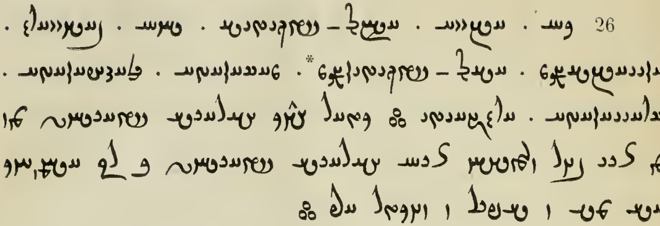
*dûshmat* va dûsh-hûkht va dûsh-hûvarsht.

21 Kaḏâr *khadûk* yasharâîsh-*stâyishnîh*-i min M valmanshân-*i* zakâî yasharâîsh-*stâyishnîh* mas va shapîr va nadûktar kasp?

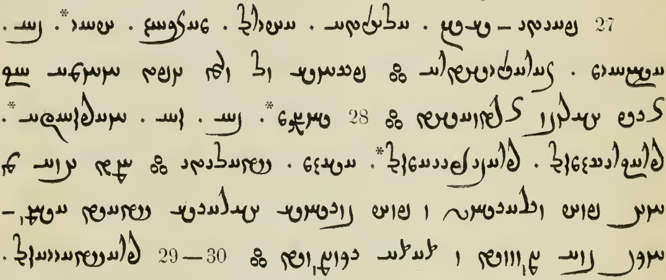
22 *Pasukhôîh* avŏ valman gûft Aûharmazd aîgh: Zakîch, yasharûbŏ *Zaratûhasht*, 23 amat gabrâ barâ khelmûnêḏ-i pavan *khvâp* lâlâ-*nipîmishnîh va* barâ-khelmûnishnîh, yasharâîsh stâyaḏ, Ashem-vohûk-I: 24—25 [chîgûn *gûftô*: *see 19—20*].

I. 20, 3. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. Z. 21, 9. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for last [Pahlavi]. 21, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 21, 4. 10. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi] to [Pahlavi]. 21, 7. $K_{20}$ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 22, 1. $K_{20}$ adds [Pahlavi] to [Pahlavi]. 22, 9. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]. Z. 23, 1. all omit [Pahlavi]. 23, 6. $K_{20}$ [Pahlavi]; [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi], or [Pahlavi]. 23, 8. a doubtful reading. 23, 9. only in $K_{20}$. 24, 2. $K_{20}$ omits final [Pahlavi]; the remaining text of 24—25 is omitted in the MSS., being the same as that of 19—20.

12



13



[continue as in 19—20.]

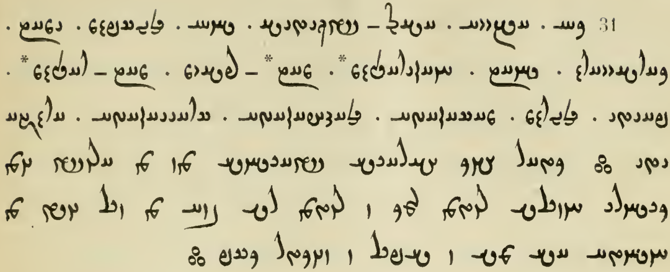
26 Kaḍâr *khadûk* yasharâîsh-*stâyishnîh* mûn min zak-i bêvar valmanshân zakâî yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh 10,000 Ashem-vohûk ash mas *va shapîr va* nadûktar arj?

27 *Pasukhôîh val* valman gûft Âûharmazd aîgh: Zakîch, yasharûbŏ *Zaratûhasht*, 28 amat gabrâ min *khvâp* frâz-vîrâyishnîh va frâz-bûyishnîh yasharâîsh stâyaḍ Ashem-vohûk-*I* barâ yemalelûnêḍ, va lâlâ yekavîmûnêḍ; 29—30 [chîgûn gûft, *see 19—20.*]

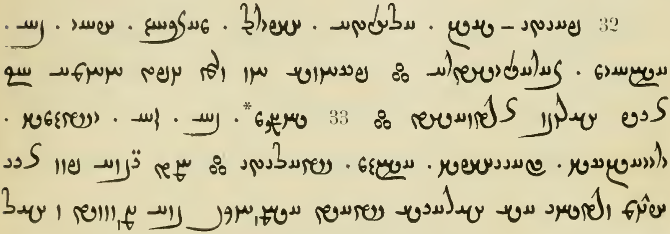
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I. Z. 26, 9. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for last [illegible]. 26, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 26, 4. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 26, 17—18. $H_6$ [illegible]. 26, 19. $K_{20}$ om. Z. 27, 6. $H_6$ [illegible]. 27, 1. $H_6$ adds [illegible] to [illegible]. 27, 2. $H_6$ [illegible]. 27, 9. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. Z. 28, 1. all omit [illegible]. Z. 28, 4. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 28, 6. all but $H_6$ have [illegible] for [illegible]. 28, 4. $K_{20}$ [illegible]; [illegible] for [illegible], or [illegible]. 28, 12. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. Z. 29, 2. the remaining text of 29—30 is omitted in the MSS., being the same as that of 19—20.

14



15



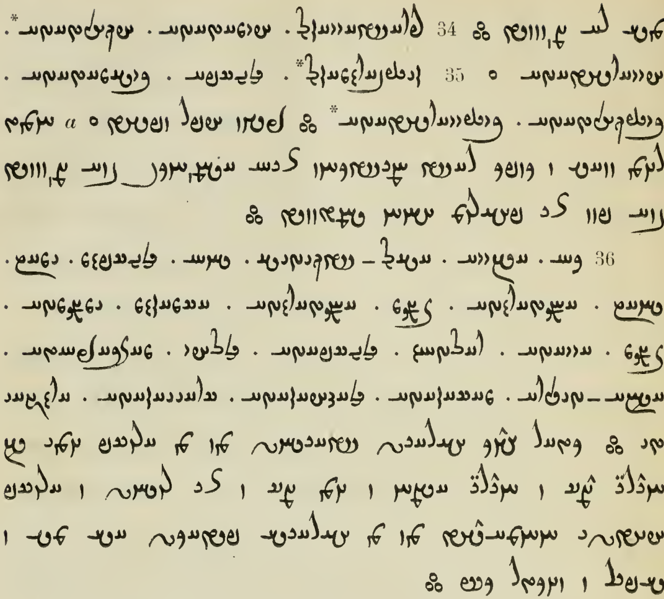
31 Kaḍâr khadûk yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh mûn, min harvist denman *kêshvar-i Khvanîras* levatman ramak va levatman ras, barâ min vîr, javîḍ min anshûtâ, ash mas *va* shapîr *va* nadûktar kasp?

32 Pasukhvôîh avŏ valman gûft Aûharmazd aîgh: Zakîch, yasharûbŏ *Zaratûhasht*, 33 amat gabrâ, pavan zak-i afadûm varḍishn-i *khayâ*, yasharâîsh stâyaḍ Ashem-vohûk-I barâ *yemalelûnêḍ*, va akhar

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I. Z. 31, 10. $H_6$ has for . Z. 31, 11—14. in the margin of $H_6$; the other MSS. prefix to this phrase; this may stand for *tâ*, the Pâz. of the Huz. *vad*, which is the usual sign of abbreviation, as Westergaard suggests: but it is more probably the cypher , which is often attached to marginal insertions in Pârsî MSS., and may indicate that these words were in the margin of some former MS., as they now are in that of $H_6$. Z. 31, 14. $P_7$ has for . 31, 9. $K_{20}$ ., 31, 10. $H_6$ omits . 31, 24. $H_6$ om. 31, 26. $K_{20}$ om. 32, 9. $K_{20}$ . Z. 33, 1. all omit . 33, 7. $K_{20}$ . 33, 12, 17. $K_{20}$ .

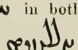
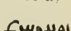
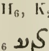
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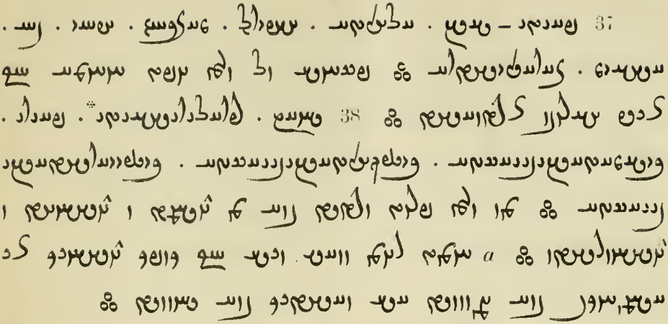


milayâ lâ *yemalelûnêḍ;* 34—35 [*chîgûn azvar nipisht*, *see 19—20.*] *a) Hômanḍ le-denman* vanâs *va* kirfak râst hamîstakânŏ zakâî Ashem-vohûk-I barâ *yemalelûnêḍ*, barâ *pavan* zak *pâhlûm* ahvân yâmtûnêḍ.

36 Kaḍâr khadûk yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh mûn min harvisp denman-*î* yîn *andarg* damîk va *andarg* âsmân *va* denman *damîk va* zak rôshanîh *va* harvisp *âvâḍîh-i* Aûharmazd-dâḍ. mûn min yasharâîsh pêḍâkîh, ash mas va shapîr va nadûktar kasp?

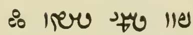
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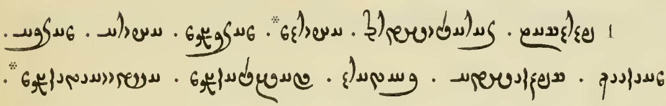
1. Z. 34, 3.—35, 5. $H_6$ omits these words, as in 29—30. Z. 35, 1. the last  is supplied in accordance with 15, 1. and 20, 1. in $H_6$. 35, 1—3. $K_{20}$ om. 35 *a*, 1.  in both, but see 38 *a*, 1. 35 *a*, 2. $H_6$ om. 35 *a*, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 35 *a*, 11. $K_{20}$ . 35 *a*, 13. $H_6$ om. 35 *a*, 15. $H_6$ . 36, 8. $K_{20}$ omits . 36, 10, 13. so in $H_6$, $K_{20}$; but perhaps an old misreading for *andar-i*. 36, 15. $H_6$ om. 36, 17. $H_6$ . 36, 18, 21. $K_{20}$ om. 36, 23. or *âzâḍîh-i*

17


## Chapter II.

[Westergaard's Yasht Fragment XXII. 1—18.]

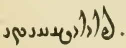
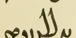


1


37 *Pasukhôîh val* valman gûft Aûharmazd aîgh: Zakîch, yasharûbô *Zaratûhasht* 38 mûn valman frôḍ varḍêḍ barâ min dûshmat *va* dûsh-hûkht *va* dûsh-hûvarshtô. *a)* Hômanḍ le-denman vanâs vêsh aîgh kirfak dûshahûîk zak Ashem-vohûk-*I* barâ *yemalelûnêḍ* ash vahishtîk barâ yehevûnêḍ.

## Chapter II.

*Pavan shum-i Yêdatô.*

I. 37, 1. H6 adds  to . 37, 2. H6 . 37, 9. K20 . Z. 38, 2. P7 . 38, 8, 10. K20 om. 38 *a*, 9. K20 omits . 38 *a*, 11. K20 .

II. 0, 1—3. this invocation is only in H6. Z. 1, 3—11. H6 abbreviates the sentence by writing  (*vad*, 'to') in place of these words.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

2 3 [illegible]

4 [illegible]

[illegible]

5 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

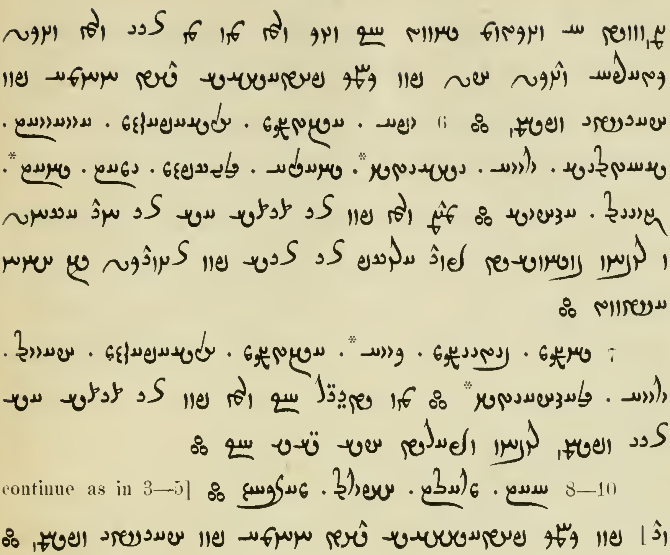
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[Pahlavî.] 1 *Pûrsîḍ Zaratûhasht* min Aûharmazd, *aîgh: Aûharmazd, mînavad-i afzûnîk, dâḍâr-i gêhân-i ast-hômandân*, yasharûbŏ, 2 amat yasharûbŏ barâ vaḍîrêḍ, aîgh valman pavan *zak lêlyâ* zak-i nafshman rûbân vajârêḍ? (aîghash *gâs* aîgh?)

3 Afash gûft Aûharmazd 4 aîgh: Pavan nazdîk-i vaghḍân yetîbûnêḍ, zak jînâk aîgh, amatash jân barâ vazlûnêḍ, ash rôêshman yekavîmûn âḍ; 5 *Aûshtûvat* gâs srâyaḍ (aîgh zand yemalelûnêḍ), va nadûkrûbishnîh barâ

---

II. 1, 1. both add [illegible]. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 1, 5—11. $H_6$ [illegible], as an abbreviation. 1, 6. $K_{20}$ om.; but the sentence is corrected according to I. 1. 1, 7—8. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 1, 10. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. Z. 2, 3. all prefix [illegible]. Z. 2, 5. $H_6$ [illegible]. Z. 2, 10. always so in $H_6$; but $K_{20}$ has [illegible] twice for [illegible]. 2, 8—9. $K_{20}$ om. 2, 15. $K_{20}$ om. Z. 4, 2. $H_6$ omits last [illegible]. Z. 5, 1, 10. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 5, 11. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 5, 1. $H_6$ [illegible].



3

4 continue as in 3—5] 8—10

*yemalelûnêḏ*, aî *nadûktûm* yehevûnḏ aîgh: 'Nadûk valman mûn, min zak-i valman nadûkîh, kaḏârchâî nadûkîh; afash pavan kâmak *pâḏakh-shahîh dâḏ* Aûharmazd, pavan avâyast-*i* nafshman'. 6 Madam valman, pavan zak lêlyâ, ash zak and âsânîh, va *rûbânô* bavîhûnî-aît, chand harvisp zak zyash, pavan zîvandakîh, yîn ahvân *khadîtûnḏ.*

7 Mûn daḏîgar aîgh valman pavan zak lêlyâ ash zak-i nafshman *rûbânô* vajârêḏ? (afash gâs aîgh?)

8—10 [*see 3—5;* vad] 'pavan kâmak *pâḏakhshâhîh dâḏ* Aûhar-mazd pavan *avâyast*-i nafshman'.

---

II. 5, 11. $K_{20}$ . 5, 13. both omit . 5, 28. $H_6$ has for . 5, 29. $H_6$ . 5, 32. both omit here, but see 10, 7. Z. 6, 7. $K_{20}$ has for . Z. 6, 11. only in $H_6$. 6, 11. $K_{20}$ omits final . 6, 21. $H_6$ . Z. 7, 3. $H_6$ . Z. 7, 8. $K_{20}$ . 7, 11. $H_6$ has for . 10, 3. $K_{20}$ has for . 10, 4. in both, but see 5, 29. 10, 7. $K_{20}$ omits .

11 [illegible]

[illegible] [see 6] continue as in 6] [illegible]

5 [illegible] 12

[illegible]

[illegible]

6 continue as in 3—5] [illegible] 13—15

[illegible] 16 [illegible]

[illegible] 17 [illegible]

[illegible] [see 6] continue as in 6] [illegible]

7 [illegible] 18

[illegible]

[illegible]

---

11 [*see 6;* vad] pavan *zîvandakîh*, yîn ahvân dîḏ.

12 Mûn saḏîgar aîgh valman pavan zak lêlyâ ash *zak-i* nafshman *rûbânô* vajârêḏ? (afash gâs aîgh?)

13—15 [*see 3—5;* vad] ‘*pâḏakhshâhîh* yehabûnêḏ’. 16 Madam valman pavanich zak kolâ *III* lêlyâ, 17 [*see 6;* vad] pavan zîvandakîh, yîn ahvân yehabûnḏ.

18 Pavan zak-i

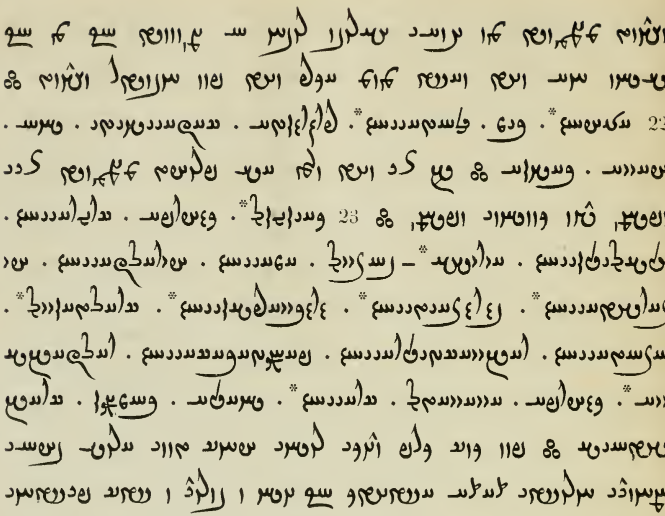
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II. 11, 2. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 12, 3. $H_6$ [illegible]. Z. 12, 4. only in $H_6$. Z. 12, 8. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 12, 9. $K_{20}$ om. 12, 11. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 15, 1. $H_6$ has [illegible], and $K_{20}$ [illegible], for [illegible]. 16, 6. $K_{20}$ om. Z. 18, 3. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, G. have [illegible] here, but see III. Z. 17, 3. Z. 18, 5. $H_6$ [illegible]. Z. 18, 12. all omit first [illegible]; $P_7$ has [illegible] for second [illegible].

sadîgar lêlyâ rôêshman ash pavan *ûzdahîshnîh* medammûnêḏ pavan aûshbâm, mûn gabrâ-i yasharûbŏ *rûbânô* aîgh yîn aûrvar madam va bôd ash barâ dâsht medammûnêḏ tanû-i nafshman. 19 Zak valman vâḏ madam vâyêḏ medammûnêḏ min *rapîtvîntar* nêmak, min nêmak-i Savâk, min rapîtvînŏtarîkân nêmakân, min nêmak-i Yadadân; 20 hû-bôd va hû-bôdtûm min zak han vâḏân zyash pavan stih yâtûnḏ. 21 Valman vâḏ ash pavan *bînîk* lâlâ

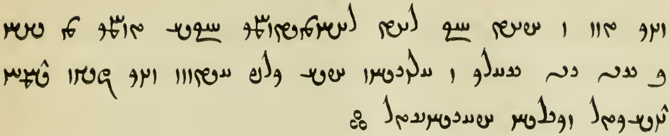
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II. 18, 8. for ; $H_6$ omits ; see III. 17, 10. 18, 15. $K_{20}$ omits final . Z. 19, 4. $K_{20}$ . Z. 19, 6. $H_6$ has for . 19, 8. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ . Z. 21, 1—2. G. . . Z. 21, 5. $H_6$ omits first . Z. 21, 19. $H_6$ has for first . Z. 21, 20. so in $H_6$; Westergaard has for the obsolete *g*. 21, 5. $K_{20}$ .

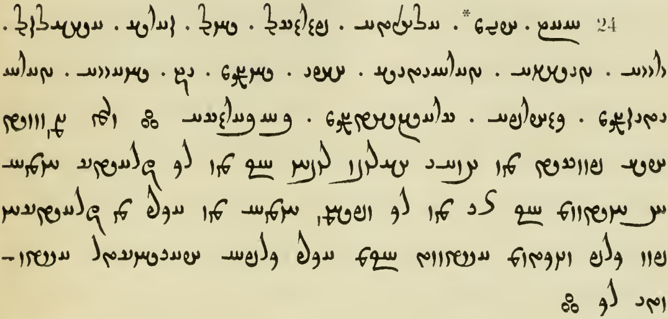


vakhdûnd medammûnêd mûn gabrâ-i yasharûbŏ rûbâu aê *yemalelûnêd* aîgh: Min aîgh dahishnŏ anâ vâd vâyêd, mûnam akaraz vâd pavan hû-bôdtar vakhdûnd? 22 Yîn zak vâd valman ash fravâft medammûnêd zak-i nafshman dînô kûnishnŏ-*i* nafshman, 23 pavan kanîk kerp *nadûk-i* rôshan-i avârîk tanû-i arûs bâzâî-*i* amâvand-i hû-rôst-i lâlâ astâdak (aîgh yûdân) va bûland, va stîk pêstân-i

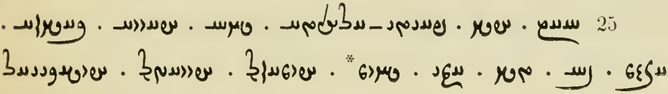
II. 21, 14. $K_{20}$ omits one [script]. Z. 22, 1. $K_{20}$ has [script] for [script]. Z. 22, 3. so in $H_6$; [script] being almost illegible in $K_{20}$, has been mistaken for [script] by the copyists of $K_{21}$, $P_7$; G. [script]. 22, 11. $H_6$ omits [script]. Z. 23, 1. $H_6$ [script]. Z. 23, 5. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit initial [script]. Z. 23, 9. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit [script]. Z. 23, 10. only in $H_6$; the Vishtâsp Yasht (24, 56) has [script] for [script]. Z. 23, 11. G. *eredvâ-frashnyâo.* Z. 23, 12. $H_6$ adds [script] to [script]. Z. 23, 16. $H_6$ has [script] for [script]. Z. 23, 19. $H_6$ and Yt. 24, 56 have [script] for [script]; G. *srira.* 23, 4. $K_{20}$ om. 23, 9. $K_{20}$ has [script] for [script].



10 24



11 25

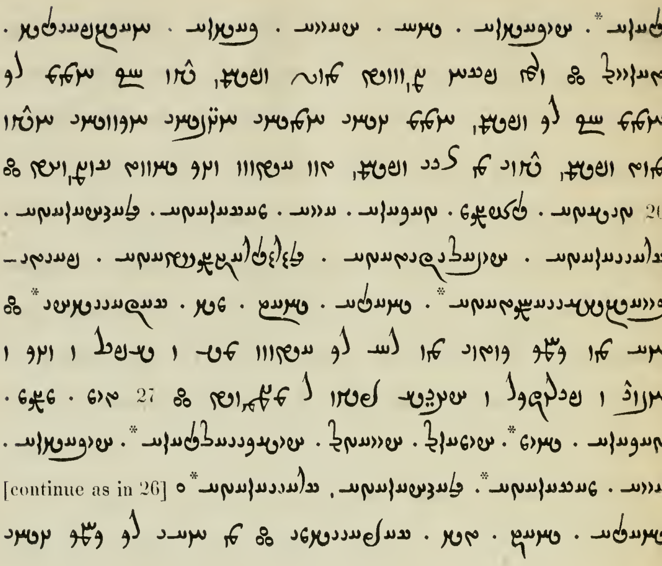


nadûk tanû, va âzâḍ (aîgh râḍ), rayê-hômand-tôkhmak (aîghash *tôkh-mak* min *Yadadân*), XV sâlak, va hu-rôdishnŏ, afash kerp *aêtûnŏ* nadûk chîgûn dâmân *dôshaktar*, nikîrishn avâyishnîktar.

24 Valman *yemalelûnêḍ*, afash pûrsîḍ mûn gabrâ-i yasharûbŏ *rûbân*, aîgh: Mûn lak charâîtîk hômanîh? aê *khavîtûnam*, aîgh zak mûn lak nafshman *hômanîh*, mûn akaraz *min charâîtîkân* pavan kerp nadûktûm khadîtûnḍ, aîgham akaraz kerp-*aê* avâyishnîktar khadîtûnḍ-i lak?

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II. 23, 29. $K_{20}$ omits . 23, 31. $K_{20}$ . 23, 38. $K_{20}$ omits final ; both add *va*. 23, 42. altered in $H_6$, by a later hand, to . Z. 24, 2. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ . 24, 2. $K_{20}$ omits one . 24, 8. $K_{20}$ adds final . 24, 15. $K_{20}$ . 24, 21. $K_{20}$ . 24, 24—25. partly illegible in $K_{20}$. 24, 32. $K_{20}$ has for . Z. 25, 12. G. *yim*. Z. 25, 15. $H_6$ omits first .

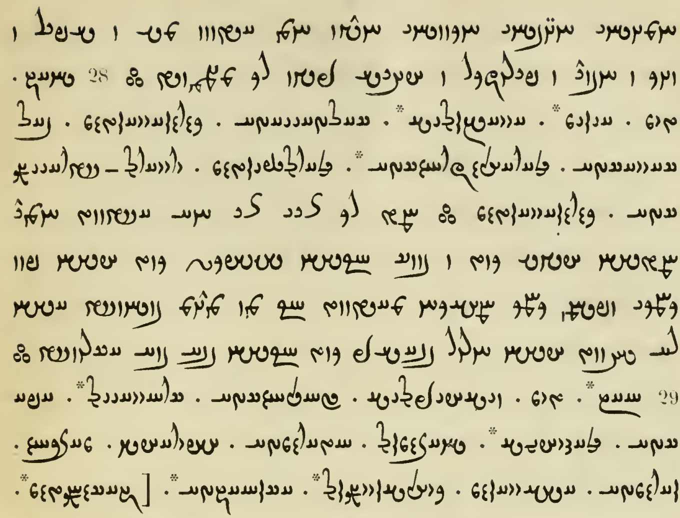



12

25 Valman pasukhô *yemalelûnêḍ* mûnash nafshman dînô aîgh: Hômanam lak hômanam (aîgh lak nafshman hômanam), yûdân-i hû-minishn-i hû-gûbishn-i hû-kûnishn-i hû-dînô, mûnat nafshman dînô-i min zak-i nafshman tanû *aêtûnŏ* nadûk *yehevûnḍ* yekavîmûnâḍ. 26 Anâ mûn kâmak kartô-i mûn râî lak *aêtûnŏ* mas *va shapîr va* nadûk *va* hû-bôḍ va pîrûzkar *va* avîbêsh chîgûn li medammûnêḍ. 27 Min anâ-i lak kâmak yûdân-i

H. 25, 3. K20 omits one [Pahlavi]. 25, 27. K20 omits final [Pahlavi]. 25, 29. H6 [Pahlavi]. Z. 26, 11. H6 has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. Z. 26, 15. K20 has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 26, 8. K20 omits final [Pahlavi]. 26, 10—12, 14. K20 om. 26, 18. both om. Z. 27, 4. G. [Pahlavi]. Z. 27, 7. H6 omits first [Pahlavi]; K20 has [Pahlavi] for final [Pahlavi]. Z. 27, 10—12. K20 o [Pahlavi]; [Pahlavi] is a sign of abbreviation, standing for Huz. [Pahlavi] *ghal*, 'to'.

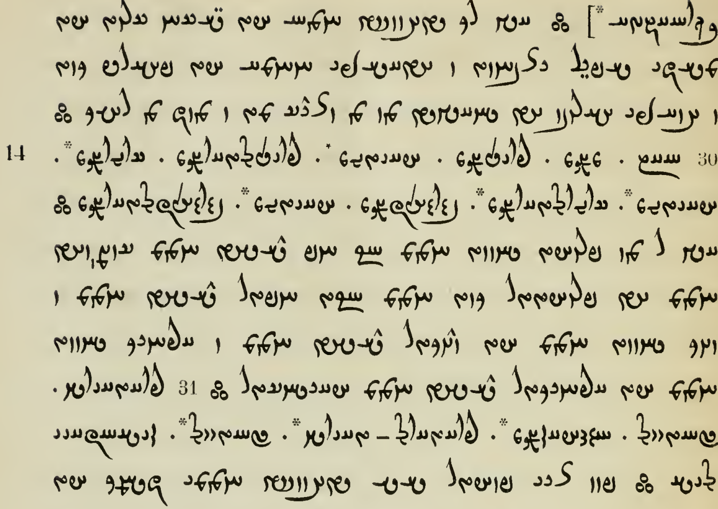
13



hû-mînishn-i hû-gûbishn-i hû-kûnishn-i hû-dînô *hôman* aêtûnŏ mas va shapîr va nadûk va hû-bôd va pîrûzkar va avîbêsh chîgûn lak *medammûnêḍ*. 28 Amat lak zak-i *sak* anâ khadîtûnḍ hômand amatshân afsôs karḍ va bôndak (aîghshân shedayâzakîh) *karḍ*, afshân pavan kâmak-i *nafshman kâmak* hamkhâkân makhîtûnḍ (aîgh mûn mandavam bavîhûnast, ashân lâ yehabûnḍ), afshân aûrvar babâîhich karḍ (aîghshân babâ barâ asrûnast);

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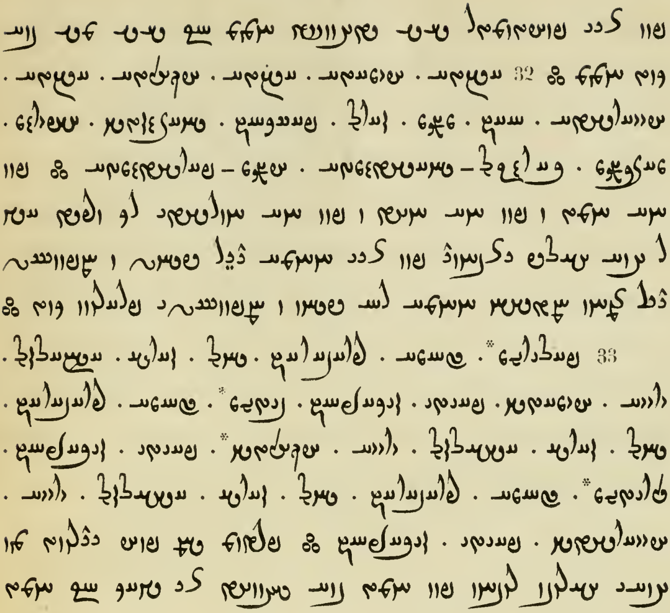
II. 27, 10. so in both, the personal suffix being omitted. 27, 25. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 28, 3. all but $H_6$ have [illegible]. Z. 28, 4. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ have [illegible] for [illegible]; [illegible] being illegible in $K_{20}$, have been altered into [illegible] in $H_7$. Z. 28, 8. G. omits [illegible]. 28, 4. only in $H_6$. 28, 15. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. 28, 19—20. only in $H_6$. Z. 29, 1. all but $H_6$ and G. add [illegible] by mistake. Z. 29, 5. G. *srâvayôish*. Z. 29, 7. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 29, 14. $H_6$ omits first [illegible], and G. substitutes [illegible] for it. Z. 29, 15. $H_6$ [illegible]; in the others [illegible]. Z. 29, 16—17. omitted in all, but added from Vishtâsp Yasht (24, 59) in accordance with the Pâhlavî.



29 adîn lak yetîbûnast hômanîh, afat gâsân srûḍ, afat mayâich-*i* shapîr *yezbekhûnḍ*, va âtâshich-i Aûharmazd azat pâhrêj karḍ, va gabrâich-i yasharûbŏ at shinâyînîḍ, mûn min nazdîk maḍ, va *mûnich* min *rakhîk*. 30 Adîn li mûn fravâft yehevûnḍ hômanam (aîgh khûp dâsht hômanam *yekavîmûnâḍ hômanam*), *at fravâfttar karḍ hômanam* (*aîghat khûptar dâsht hômanam*); *va* nadûk yehevûnḍ hômanam, *afat* nadûktar dâsht hômanam; va arjânîk yehevûnḍ hômanam, *afat* arjânîktar dâsht hômanam avâyishnîktar; 31 pavan zak-i frâztar gâs yetîbûnast hômanam-i *chashmak*, afat

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II. 29, 9. H₆ omits . 29, 11. K₂₀ . 29, 28. K₂₀ adds . 29, 30. so in both, and more correct than *arîk*. Ard. Vîr. IV. 27, as has been pointed out, in the notes on Mkh. glos. p. 60, 66. Z. 30, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10. H₆ has for . 30, 11. K₂₀ has for . 30, 12 — 19. K₂₀ om. 30, 20—21 illegible in K₂₀. 30, 25, 33. K₂₀ adds . Z. 31, 3. K₂₀ has for . Z. 31, 5. K₂₀ omits . Z. 31, 6. H₆ adds to . 31, 7. H₆ adds .

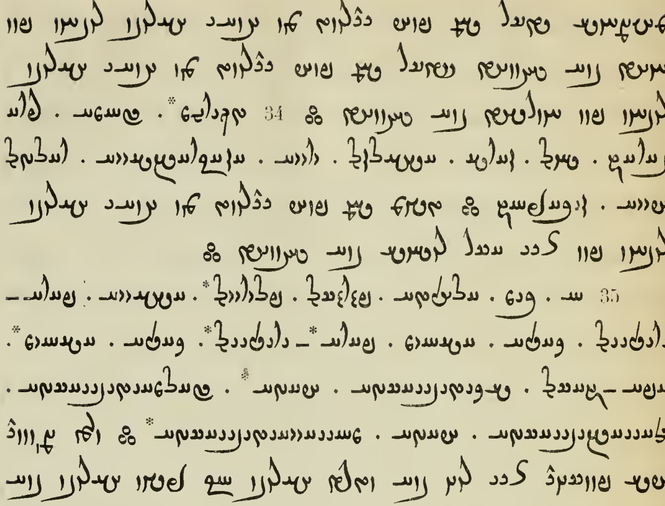


pavan zak-i frâztûmtar gâs yetîbûnast hômanam (*aîgh* gâs mas barâ karḍ hômanam). 32 Pavan anâ hûmat, *va* pavan anâ hûkht, *va* pavan anâ hûvarsht-i lak varzîḍ, adîn li gabrâ akharîch yezbekhûnd, pavan zak-i Aûharmazd dêr-yazishnîh va ham-pûrsakîh, dêr *zamânô* amatshân Aûharmazd *râî* yazishnô va ham-pûrsakîh-i *frârûnô karḍ*.

33 Fratûm gâm frâz *yedrûnd* mûn gabrâ-*i* yasharûbô rûbânô pavan Hûmat barâ yehabûnâḍ (zak jînâk aîgh hûmat

II. 31, 15. $K_{20}$ adds . 32, 4, 8. $K_{20}$ om. 32, 27. $K_{20}$ . 32, 30. $K_{20}$ . 32, 34. $K_{20}$ omits final . 32, 35. $K_{20}$ adds final . Z. 33, 1, 11, 21. $H_6$ has  for . Z. 33, 18. $H_6$ has  for . 33, 4. both have  for . 33, 6. $K_{20}$ omits .

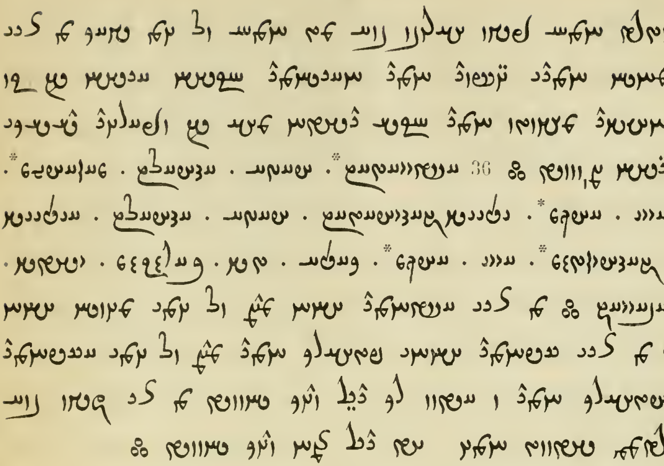
16



mâhmânîh); daḍîgar gâm frâz *yedrûnd* mûn gabrâ-*i* *yasharûbŏ* rûbânô pavan Hûkht barâ yehabûnâḍ; saḍîgar gâm frâz *yedrûnd* mûn gabrâ-*i* yasharûbŏ *rûbânô* pavan *Hûvarsht* barâ yehabûnâḍ; 34 tasûm gâm frâz *yedrûnd* mûn gabrâ-*i* yasharûbŏ rûbânô pavan zak-i asar *rôshanîh* barâ *yehabûnâḍ*.

35 Valman *yemalelûnd*, afash pûrsênd zak-*i* *levîn* barâ vaḍarḍ yasharûbŏ aîgh: Chîgûn yasharûbŏ barâ

II. 33, 21. $K_{20}$ has for . 33, 23. $K_{20}$ omits . 33, 24. $K_{20}$ adds . 33, 33. $K_{20}$ has for . 33, 35. $K_{20}$ omits . 33, 37. $K_{20}$ omits final . 33, 39. $K_{20}$ adds . Z. 34, 1. $H_6$ has for . 34, 4. $H_6$ ; $K_{20}$ has for . 34, 6. $K_{20}$ omits . 34, 12. $K_{20}$ adds to . 34, 14. $K_{20}$ has for . Z. 35, 5. $H_6$ has for . Z. 35, 11—14. $H_6$, G. om. Z. 35, 12. $K_{20}$ . Z. 35. 18—22. only in $H_6$. 35, 2. $K_{20}$ omits one . 35, 5. $K_{20}$ omits . 35, 6. $K_{20}$ adds final .



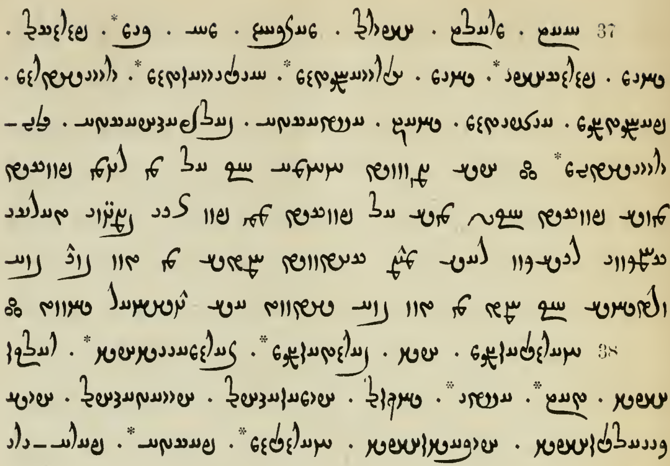
vadard hômanîh? chîgûn yasharûbô barâ mad *hômanîh* val denman jînâk, min zak-*i* mânishn-hômand-i gôspend-hômand khvahîshnmand (*aîgh-shân* khadîhân yîn ghal *khvâhênd*) *mâyûvatô*-hômand (aîghash *dashtân mâyâ yîn vajârênd* dakhshak-i gêhân *yemalelûnêd*); 36 min zak-i ast-hômand ahvân madam val denman-i mînavadân ahvân, va min zak-*i* sêj-hômand ahvân-i patîyârak-hômand madam val denman-*i* asêj-hômand apatîyârak-*hômand? va* aêtûn lak dêr nadûk yehevûnêd, min zak chîgûn barâ latamman yâtûnd hômanih, *hat* dêr *zamân* nadûk yehevûnêd?

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II. 35, 20. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 35, 25. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 35, 31. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. 35, 35. $K_{20}$ prefixes [illegible]. 35, 36. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 35, 39—42. $H_6$ has the Persian gloss: یعنی با زن مجامعت کنند. 35, 45. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. Z. 36, 1. $H_6$, G. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. [illegible], but see III. Z. 36, 1. Z. 36, 4. $H_6$, G. [illegible]; $K_{20}$ [illegible]; but see III. Z. 36, 4. Z. 36, 6. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 36, 10. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit [illegible], $H_6$ omits [illegible]. Z. 36, 12. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 36, 12. both omit [illegible]. 36, 19. $H_6$ omits [illegible]. 36, 22. $H_6$ om. 36, 23. illegible in $K_{20}$. 36, 36. $K_{20}$ adds [illegible]. 36, 38. $K_{20}$ [illegible].

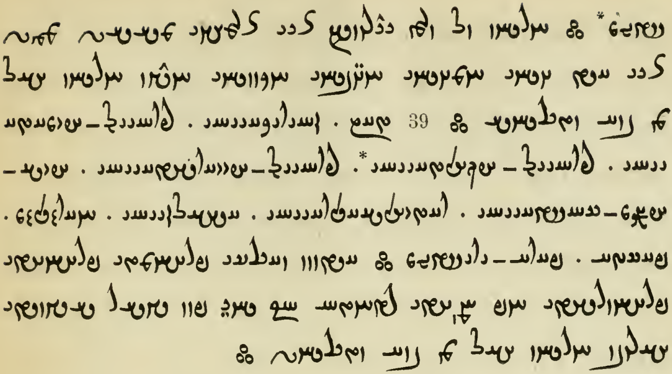
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18



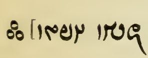
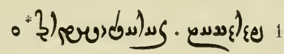
37 Afash *yemalelûnêḍ* Aûharmazd *aîgh*: Al min le-denman pûrsêḍ mûnash pûrsêḍ (aîghash minash al pûrsêḍ), maman pavan zak-i bîmgûn-*i* târîk-i *sahmkûn-i* rêshkûn râs madam *sâtûnêḍ*, amatash min tanû bôḍ *barâ*-varḍishnîh (aîgh amat *min* tanû barâ yâtûnḍ) ash dûsh-khvâr yehevûnḍ.

II. Z. 37, 6. K₂₀ [Pahlavi]. Z. 37, 9. K₂₀ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. Z. 37, 11. H₆ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; K₂₀ adds [Pahlavi] to [Pahlavi]. Z. 37, 12. H₆ has [Pahlavi] for both [Pahlavi]; K₂₀ has [Pahlavi] for last [Pahlavi]; but see III. Z. 37, 11. Z. 37, 20. H₆ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 37, 2. K₂₀ omits one [Pahlavi]. 37, 4. K₂₀ om. 37, 18. H₆ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]; K₂₀ omits it. 37, 20. H₆ omits [Pahlavi]; K₂₀ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. 37, 24. H₆ [Pahlavi]. 37, 29. H₆ om. 37, 33. K₂₀ [Pahlavi]. Z. 38, 3. so in Vishtâsp Yasht 24, 64; H₆, G. [Pahlavi]; K₂₀ torn off. Z. 38, 4. H₆, K₂₀ have [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. Z. 38, 6—7. K₂₀ torn off; K₂₁ prefixes [Pahlavi]; P₇ blank space. Z. 38, 13. so in K₂₁; H₆, K₂₀ [Pahlavi]. Z. 38, 14. K₂₀ adds [Pahlavi]. Z. 38, 16. H₆ has [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi].



## Chapter III.

[Westergaard's Yasht Fragment XXII. 19—36.]

 continue as in II. 1.]  19

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38 Khûrishnŏ val valman yedrûnyên zak-i zaremâyŏ-i *mishgâîh*: *mamanash* zak-*i* aît yûdân-i hû-mînishn-i hû-*gûbishn*-i hû-kûnishn-i hû-dînô *khûrishnŏ*, akhar min barâ-vaḍîrishnîh; 39 *aĉtûnŏ* nâîrîk-i frâ-hûmat-i frâ-hûkht-i frâ-hûvarsht-i khûp-âmûkht-i raḍ-khûḍâî (aîgh shûî pavan sardâr yakhsenunêḍ)-i yasharûbŏ *khûrishnŏ*, akhar min barâ-vaḍîrishnîh.

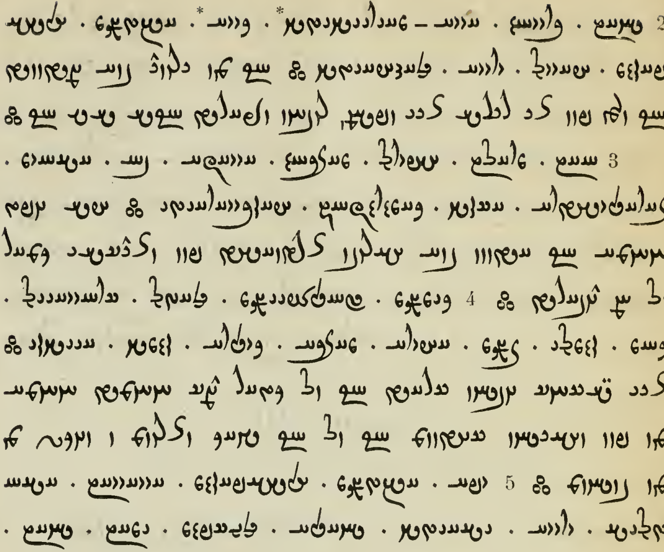
### Chapter III.

[Pahlavî.] 1 [Chîgûn *gûftô; see II. 1.*]

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II. 38, 7. $K_{20}$ . 38, 8. $K_{20}$ . 38, 9. $K_{20}$ omits . 38, 13. $K_{20}$ adds to . 38, 16. $K_{20}$ omits final . Z. 39, 6. $H_6$ has for . 39, 1. 15. $K_{20}$ omits final .

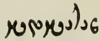
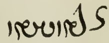
III. Z. 1, 2. the remaining text of this sentence is omitted in the MSS., being the same as that of II. 1. 1, 2. $K_{20}$ omits final .



2 aîgh mûn darvand barâ *yemîtûnêḍ*, aîgh valman pavan zak lêlyâ zak-i nafshman *rûbânô* vajârêḍ? (aîghash gâs aîgh?)

3 Afash gûft Aûharmazd aîgh: Aêtûnŏ barâ, yasharûbŏ *Zaratûhasht*, pavan nazdîkîh-i kamâr *val ham* dûbârêḍ, 4 zak-i gâsânîk *gûbishnŏ* srâyaḍ aîgh: 'Vâl kaḍâr *damîk anaûmêḍ*, *Aûharmazd*, *mûn pavan nîyâyishnŏ sâtûnam?*' (*aîgh 'val aîgh* jînâk vazlûnam? va nadûkîh min mûn bavîhûnam?')

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III. Z. 2, 4. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ . Z. 2, 5. $H_6$ . 2, 5. $K_{20}$ adds . 2, 13. $K_{20}$ omits final . 3, 8. $K_{20}$ . 3, 12—13. in $K_{20}$, the text from 3, 4 to 17, 18 is not only here, but has also been inserted, and struck out, after II. 37, 3; and these two words are omitted in the second insertion. 4, 3. $H_6$ adds ; $K_{20}$ has  for , in second insertion. 4, 8—17. $K_{20}$ omits, in second insertion; and 16—17 are torn off in first insertion.

[illegible]

[continue as in 2-5, comparing II. 7-11] [illegible] 6—10 21—22

[continue as in 2-5, comparing II. 12-17] [illegible] 11—16 23—24

[see 2-5 [illegible]

[illegible] 17 25

[illegible]

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5 Madam valman, pavan zak lêlyâ, ash zak and anâsânîh rûbânô *bavîhûnî-aît* chand harvisp zak zyash pavan nazdîkîh yîn *ahvânŏ* khadîtûnḏ.

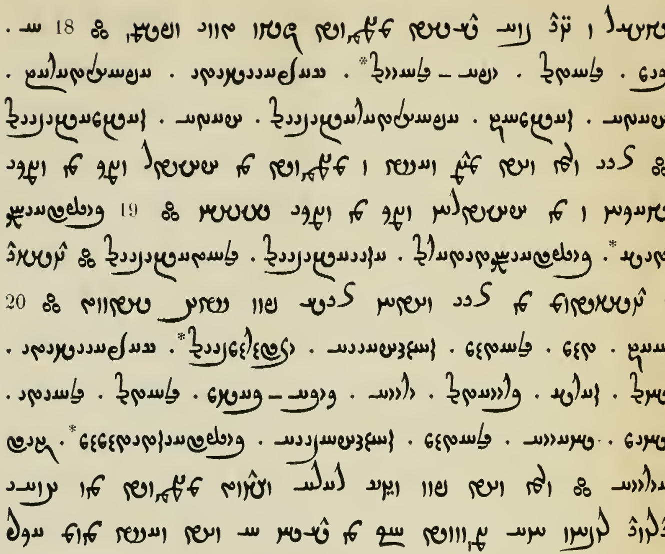
6—16 Mûn daḏîgar * * * *ca* mûn saḏîgar [chîgûn gûft; *see 2—5, comparing II. 7—17*].

17 Zak-*i* saḏîgar lêlyâ rôêshman, yasharûbŏ *Zaratûhasht*, ash pavan barâ-*ûzdahîshnîh* medammûnêḏ, pavan aûshbâm, mûn gabrâ-i darvand *rûbânô* yîn

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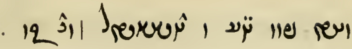
III. 5, 11. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 5, 19. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. Z. 6, 2; 11, 2. the remaining text of 6—10 and 11—16 is omitted in the MSS., being the same as Z. 2. 5.—5. 13. with its corresponding Pahl. 6—16, 3. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. Z. 17, 3. 6. *thraoshtô*. Z. 17, 6. $H_6$ [illegible]; $K_{20}$ [illegible]; but see II. Z. 18, 4. Z. 17, 13—14. $K_{20}$ omits, in second insertion. 17, 1. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 17, 6. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 17, 10. both omit [illegible], but see II. 18, 8. 17, 17. $K_{20}$ omits, in second insertion.

26

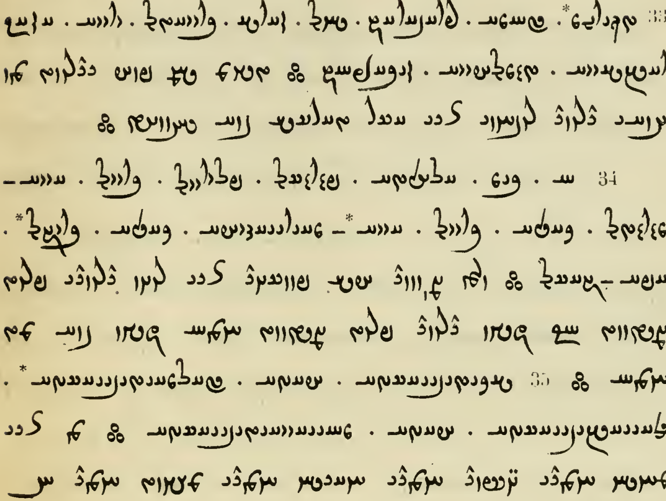


snêshar va gand barâ dâsht medammûnêḍ chîgûn tanû-i nafshman. 18 Zak-*i* valman vâḍ madam vâyêḍ, va medammûnêḍ min apâkhtar nêmak, min nêmak-*i* jînâkân, va min apâkhtarân nêmak, min nêmak-*i* shêdâân; 19 dûsh-gand va dûsh-gandtûm min zak-*i* vâḍân zyash pavan stih yâtûnḍ. 20 Valman vâḍ pavan vînîk lâlâ vakhdûnḍ medammûnêḍ mûn gabrâ-*i* darvand *rûbânô* anâ *yemalelûnêḍ:* Aîgh min *dahishn* aê vâḍ vâyêḍ, mûnam akaraz

III. Z. 18, 5. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 18, 1. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 18, 12. $H_6$ omits [illegible]. 18, 19. both omit [illegible]. Z. 19, 1. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 19, 5. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. Z. 20, 5. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit first [illegible]; $K_{20}$ adds [illegible] to [illegible]. Z. 20, 19. $H_6$, $K_{20}$, G. omit final [illegible]. 20, 9. both omit [illegible]. 20, 11. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 20, 13. $K_{20}$ omits one [illegible]. 20, 16. $K_{20}$ [illegible].

 as in II. 21.

[Omitted in the MSS., being the converse of II. 22—33] 21—32 27—33



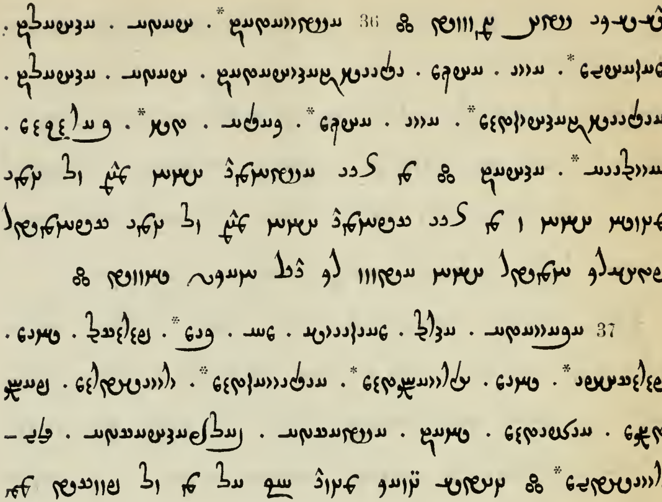
34

vâḍ pavan gandak va dûshgandtar [vad *ghal; the converse of II. 22—33*] 33 tasûm gâm frâz *yedrûnḍ* mûn gabrâ-i darvand rûbânô-*i* zak-i asar târîkîh barâ yehabûnâḍ.

34 Valman *yemalelûnd*, afash pûrsênd zak-i *levînŏ* darvand-i frôḍ yemîtûnḍ, aîgh: Chîgûn darvand frôḍ *yemîtûnḍ* hômanîh? chîgûn barâ maḍ hômanîh? 35 min zak-i mânishn-hômand-i gôspend-*hômand-i* khvahîshn-hômand-i mâyûvaḍ-*hômand* aê

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III. 20, 28. H6 ; with regard to the contents of the missing passage, compare Ard. Vîr. XVII. 11—27 and Mkh. II. 167—182. Z. 33, 1. H6 has for . 33, 4. K20 has for . 33, 8. K20 omits . Z. 34, 11—14. H6, G. om. 34, 2. K20 omits one . 34, 6. K20 omits final . 34, 14. K20 has for . Z. 35, 3. K20 has for . 35, 6, 10. K20 omits .

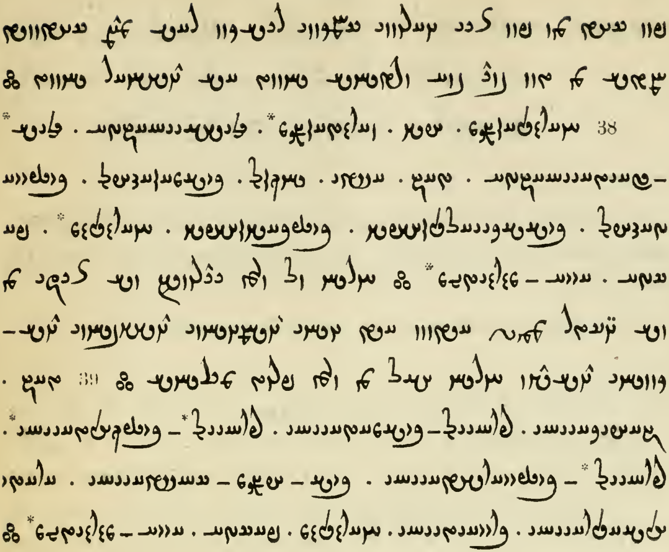


dakhshak-i stih *yemalelûnêḏ;* 36 min zak-*i* ast-hômand ahvân madam val denman-*i* mînavadân ahvân, va min zak-i sêj-hômand ahvân madam val denman-*i* sêj-hômandtar, patîyârak-hômandtar ahvân? *aêtûnô* lak dêr anâkîh yehevûnêḏ.

37 *Dûyêḏ-ash* Ganrâk-mînavad aîgh: Al min *val* pûrsêḏ, maman

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III. 35, 14. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. Z. 36, 1. $K_{20}$ [illegible]; G. *astvaḏ*. Z. 36, 4. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]; $K_{20}$ [illegible]. Z. 36, 10. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ omit first [illegible]. Z. 36, 12. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 36, 14. G. om. Z. 36, 16. G. *âvôîm*. 36, 2. both omit [illegible]. 36, 7. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. 36, 17. $H_6$ omits [illegible]. 36, 22. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. Z. 37, 5. $K_{20}$ [illegible]. Z. 37, 8. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ have [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 37, 10. $H_6$, $K_{20}$ add [illegible] to [illegible]; $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. Z. 37, 11. $K_{20}$ omits [illegible]. Z. 37, 19. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. 37, 1. so in both, but $H_6$ marks it like [illegible]; it may be *dvâḏ-ash*, an imitation of the Zand. 37, 7. for [illegible].



36

pavan sakht mûn pavan zak-i *gavârûnŏ-i sahmkûn*-i rêshkûn râs madam sâtûnêḍ, amatash min tanû bôd barâ-varḍishnîh yehevûnḍ ash dûsh-khvâr yehevûnḍ.

38 Khûrishn val valman *yedrûnyên* vish, zakich-i min vish *gandaktar*; mamanash *aêtûnŏ* aît yûdân-i dûsh-*mînishnŏ*-i dûsh-*gûbishnŏ*-i dûsh-kûnishn-i dûsh-dînô khûrishn, akhar min valman frôḍ-mîrishnîh;

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III. 37, 15. so in H₆; K₂₀ . 37, 16. K₂₀ has for . Z. 38, 3. H₆, K₂₀ omit ; G. *frabaretãm*. Z. 38, 5. Westergaard adds . Z. 38, 14. in all. Z. 38, 17. H₆ has for . 38, 4. H₆ has for , but see II. 38, 4. 38, 9. K₂₀ . 38, 11. K₂₀ omits final . 38, 14, 15. K₂₀ omits . Z. 39, 5, 7. only in H₆. Z. 39, 6. H₆ has for . Z. 39, 17. H₆ has for .

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] PS.

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39 *aêtûnŏ jêh-i frâ-dûshmat-i frâ-dûsh-hûkht-i frâ-dûsh-hûvarsht-i* dûsh-âmûkht-i araḏ-khûḏâî-i darvand *khûrishn*, akhar min frôḏ-mîrishnîh.

PS. Frajaft pavan *shlam va* shâḏîh va *râmishnŏ*.

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III. 39, 1. $K_{20}$ omits final [illegible]. 39, 2. $K_{20}$ [illegible], 39, 3, 4, 5. $K_{20}$ has [illegible] for [illegible], and so has $H_6$ in 39, 4. 39, 9. $K_{20}$ adds final [illegible]. PS. 3. $H_6$ [illegible]. PS. 4. $K_{20}$ om. PS. 7. $H_6$ has [illegible] for [illegible]. This postscript indicates the end of (what is traditionally called) the third fargard of the Hâḏôkht Nask. The sentences which follow in the MSS., and contain sections 37—38 of Westergaard's Yasht Fragment XXII, begin with the same words of invocation as those preceding ch. II. These sentences are a portion of the Ormazd Yasht I. 31, preceded by the additional passage: *ahê narsh*, etc. given in Westergaard's note. The remainder of Yasht Fragment XXII, sect. 39—42, does not occur in $H_6$, and is taken from another part of $K_{20}$, separated from the Hâḏôkht Nask by about a hundred folios of other Pahlavî texts.

# The three Fargards

of the

# Ḥâḍôkht Nask

translated

by

M. Haug, Ph. D.

# Chapter I.

## On the value of the recital of the Ashem-vohu prayer.

1 Zarathus'tra asked Ahura-mazda: O Ahura-mazda, most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, holy one: 2 in whom alone is thy word, the enunciation of all good, of all that is of rightful appearance [1]?

3 Ahura-mazda answered him: In the Ashem-reciter [2], O Zarathus'tra.

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[1] The Huzvâresh translation renders this passage thus: 'which of those prayers of thine is it, in whose words are all prosperity, and all manifestation of righteousness, the whole foundation and effect of which is declared thus: 'It is created excellence of which I said it is my own?'' This rendering is no strict translation, but rather a paraphrase. *Kahmya*, which alone is the correct reading (see the note on the text), is erroneously rendered as a nominative; *aêvahmi*, which is clearly the locative of *aêva* 'one', is translated by *min valmanshân gûbishnûno*. It is difficult to understand how the translators arrived at such a meaning; they seem to have identified *aê* in *aêvahmi* with *aêsha* 'this', and taken *vahmi* as *vachô* 'saying, prayer', which proceeding is grammatically inadmissible. The words: 'it is created excellence', etc. are evidently the translation of some other Avesta passage which is no longer known.

[2] I have taken *ashem-stûtô* in the sense of a locative, since the answer must tally with the question. *Kahmya* (or *kahmi*, as the other reading is) being a locative case, the substantive corresponding to it in the answer, must be in the locative also. Now *ashem-stûtô* does not look like a locative, but as to its form it seems to be either a nominative of the part. pass. *stûta*, or a genitive of the part. pres. *stût* = *stavat*, but by no means a nominative of an abstract noun with the meaning of *stûiti*, as the Huzvâresh translation has taken it, which renders it by *stâyishnîh*. The genitive appears to stand for the locative. The following words: 'who recites the Ashem', etc. indicate that *stûtô* cannot be taken as 'praise', but must mean 'one who praises'.

4 Who recites the Ashem, with believing inquiry (*remembrance*) in his mind for the continuance of life [1], 5 he praises me who am Ahura-mazda,

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[1] The Huzvâresh translation renders this passage thus: 'Whoever praises piety *(recites the Ashem)* with much invocation, that is, many times, and practises this work which is in the thinking of the mind that *there is* continuation of life'. The words *fraored-frakhshni — aṅhuyad hacha* occur several times in the Zand texts (Vsp. 14, 2. W. Yt. 10, 9, 51. 13, 92.), and appear to be a quotation of a well-known sacred passage. As of all the texts, in which it is now found, the Visparad is the most sacred, the passage there (14, 2. W. 16, 13. Sp.) is probably the original one. I translate the first part of the chapter (Visp. 14) which forms one long sentence, at the end of which the passage is found, thus: '(We praise the verse) with the metrical lines, the stanzas, with the explanation, with the questions and answers, with the words and syllables, which has been well remembered by those who remember (learn by heart), and well praised by those who praise (which is) in the own making, the own manifestation, the own will, the own rule, the own mastership, the own possession of Ahura-mazda, through believing inquiry in (his) mind for the continuance of life'. This refers to the so-called Gâthas, the most holy portion of the Avesta, each metrical line of this ancient part being called a *gâtha* (see Yas. 57, 8). They are represented, as having been made by Ahura-mazda, as existing in his mind, and being constantly kept up by him, by inquiring into his own mind for the benefit of the good creation, and the continuance of life. In the same way, the priest who has learnt them, keeps them in his memory and reproduces them by questioning himself each time he repeats them. The words *fraored-frakhshni avi manô* clearly indicate the mental labour it costs the repeater when reciting the prayers. *Fraored* 'believing', liter. 'professing', signifies that this mental labour is devoted to the furtherance of the good creation, which can only be kept up by praying. *Frakhshni* appears to be a locative of a form *frakhshan* 'inquiry' which I can only trace to *peres* to ask, comp. Yas. 44, 7. *frakhshnê avâmi* 'I go to ask'; Yt. 10, 24, 46.: *yahmâi frakhshni avi manô mithrô jasaiti* 'to whom, on asking in his mind, Mithra comes'. The Huzvâresh translation renders it by *kabed* 'many, much', which interpretation seems to rest on some misconception, since by its application we never obtain a good sense, nor can it be explained by etymology. The meaning of *zarazdâiti* appears to be rendered correctly by the Huz. *rûbâk-dahishnîh* 'continuation'. This meaning can be proved from all passages in which the word occurs. The most ancient is that in Yas. 43, 11: *sâdrâ môi sãs mashyaêshû zarazdâitis', tad verezidyâi hyad môi mraotâ vahis'tem* 'with difficulty,

6 he praises the water, he praises the earth, he praises the cattle, he praises the trees, he praises all good, created by Mazda, that is of rightful appearance. 7 For this saying, O Zarathus'tra, being recited correctly, *in addition* to the saying Ahuna-vairya if out-spoken, 8 *is to obtain* strength and victory for the soul, and the religion that they are furthered [1]. 9 For one recital of the Ashem-vohu prayer, or one

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thou toldst me, is the continuation (of the religion connected); tell me that which is the best to be done'. Thus the passage is, I think correctly, interpreted by the Huzvâresh version. In Sir. 1, 29. 2, 29. Ys. 22, 29. 25, 18. Sp. the word is connected with *māthra speñta* in which context it can only mean the continuance of the sacred word; in Visp. 18, 7. Sp. it refers in the same sense to the so-called *Yasna haptanhâiti.* The words *zarazdâo mazdâi* Yas. 31, 1. mean 'making continuance, or giving furtherance for Mazda'; that is, to his religion. The words *Hutaosa — yâ mê daênãm mâzdayasnîm zaras'cha dâḍ* Yt. 9, 26. 17, 46. mean 'Hutaosa (said to be the wife of Vishtâspa) who made me current the Mazdayasnian-religion', i. e. made it continue. The *cha* in *zaras'cha* has not the meaning 'and', but is rather an expletive, or gives only some emphasis to the word.

[1] This passage offers several difficulties. The Huz. translation renders it thus: 'For that saying, Zarathus'tra, which is rightly spoken, spoken forth, and is spoken forth as true and proper, when with the words of the Ahunver it is spoken by a destur; it will increase strength and victory and the soul and religion'. The words *â vachô ahunô vairyô* can only mean 'in addition to', or 'including the Ahuna vairya'; *â* means 'up to'. Instead of the nominative *ahunô vairyô* we ought to expect the genitive *ahunêhê vairyêhê. Fraokhtô* (instead of *fraokhtahê*) belongs to *ahunô vairyô.* The genitives *amahêcha verethraghnahêcha* must be taken in the sense of datives, as is often the case in the Avesta languages, as for instance in the first chapters of Yasna and Visparad where the genitives after *nivaêdhayêmi* often take the place of the dative which would be the proper case. This tendency to put the genitive instead of the dative, has in the old Persian, which stands nearest to Zand, led to the complete suppression of all dative forms. *Urunacha daênacha* are clearly instrumental cases; but the sense seems to want a dative, or a genitive. Literally, the words mean: 'for strength and victory through the soul and religion', i. e. that the soul and religion may obtain strength and victory. *Spanvanti* is taken by the Huz. as a verbal form in the plural; but this is hardly admissible, as there is no subject on which it can depend; besides, there is no root *spenv* known,

eulogy of a pious man, is worth, O Spitama Zarathus'tra, 10 a hundred sleep-*prayers*, a thousand *prayers* when eating meat, ten thousand *prayers recited* for the conception of the bodies which occurs in the primary existence *(of the good creation)*[1].

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either in Zand or Sanskrit. It can be only an adjectival form: *spenvat* 'increasing'; the case is the locative: 'in the increasing, i. e. in the increase'. I have rendered it 'that they (the soul and religion) are furthered'. The auxiliary verb is to be understood.

[1] This passage offers several difficulties, which are not sufficiently cleared away by the Huzvâresh translation which is as follows: 'one praise of the Ashem, O Zaratusht, descendant of Spitama, one Ashem-vohu, or one eulogy of the pious, is worth a hundred sleeps (sleeping prayers) and a thousand flesh meals, and ten thousand coitions (of animals), as if one should sleep a hundred sleeps (each time reciting a prayer), and should eat flesh a thousand times, and ten thousand times permit the coition (of animals); of any of the bodies, when without the body's arrival, the life comes (i. e. when the life enters the womb before the body of the new animal is formed, which happens at the time of coition); so much it is worth'. The general meaning of the passage can be gathered from the following expositions which are given in the context itself. The unequal value of the repetitions of the Ashem-vohu prayer, on different occasions, is here spoken of; which single repetition, on a certain occasion, is worth ten, or a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand other repetitions of the same prayer without the occasion stated. The words *qafna* and *gēus' qareiti* do not mean simply 'sleep', and 'eating of flesh', but prayers repeated on those occasions. On such occasions, short prayers must be recited, of which the several repetitions of the Ashem form only part. For instance, when taking a meal *(gēus qareiti)* the prayer which is contained in Yasna 37, 1: *ithâ — vîspâchâ*, is to be repeated, to which three Ashem-vohus are then added. After the meal is finished, in the first place, four Ashem-vohus must be recited, which are followed by two *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*, then by another *Ashem-vohu* and some other formulas, and lastly by an Ashem. — The most difficult part of the sentence is the words: *anumayanãm — jasôithyâo*. *Anumaya*, which is generally translated by 'small cattle', has not in all passages the same meaning. In some, such as Vend. 7, 43. 14, 16. it means undoubtedly the young ones of cattle, calves and lambs; for, if several grades of cattle are distinguished, it means the smallest and youngest (Vend. 7, 43); the same meaning it must have, if a certain large number of them is mentioned, as in Vend. 18, 70. 22, 4. Yt. 5, 21.; but in at least two passages (Vend.

11 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth ten of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

12 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 13 which a man recites for Haurvatâḍ and Ameretâḍ when eating,

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2, 24 and 9, 38) this meaning is doubtful. The former: *yaḍ idha pasēush anumayêhê padhem vaênâitê*, can be translated: 'that he may espy a place (fit) for the calving of cattle'; the second: *pasēush garebush anumayêhê*, can only mean 'the fruit of the copulation of cattle'. Now in our passage, the meaning of coition appears to suit best, and is actually borne out by the Huzvâresh translation which has 'ten thousand coitions'. This may look rather strange, but one has to bear in mind, that it is regarded in the Zoroastrian religion as a very meritorious work to procure the coition of cattle at the proper time, and in the proper place. That *maya* bears such a meaning, see the Zand-Pahlavî Glossary 25, 3. and 109 s. v. *mayâo;* compare the modern Persian *mâyah* 'origin'. The number 'ten thousand', here refers to the prayers to be recited at the time of the copulation of cattle, when one wishes to make it successful. — *Parô-asti* is the same as *parô-asna* meaning, even to the letter, 'pre-existence'. The pre-existence of souls is one of the doctrines of Zoroastrianism which is well known to all Parsi priests, but is, as yet, not properly comprehended by European Zandists. This word occurs in the phrase: *parô-asnâi aṇuhê* (Ys. 55, 2. Vend. 9, 44. 13, 8.), which is generally translated by *barâ pavan zak-i nazdîk ahvô* 'away to (or in) the next life'. This translation is quite literal, but does not express the sense of the original correctly; *parô* is rendered by *barâ* and *asnâi* by *nazdîk* 'near, next'. The 'next life' is of course that one in the other world, after death. Although this seems to be hinted at in Ys. 55, 2. by the words *pascha astascha baodhaṇhascha vî-urvîstîm* 'after the separation of body and soul', which follow after *parô-asnâi aṇuhê*, I do not think this meaning is quite correct. The *parô-asti* is not the life in the other world, as we understand it, but it signifies the primary state of the soul, to which it returns, after its separation from the body; this state is then identified with that of everlasting life. This primary existence does not refer only to man, but also to cattle. Regarding the case, *parô-asti* is to be taken as a locative, which depends on the gen. of the part. pres. fem. *jasôithyâo* qualifying *kaṅhâoschiḍ* which is also a gen. sing. fem. referring to *tanunãm*. The meaning of the phrase *parô-asti jas* (comp. Yt. 1, 25: *parô-asti jasentãm mana dâma*) seems to be 'to occur in the primary existence', to take part in it. Here the bodies of all the young ones of animals, respectively their embryos, which all take part in the pre-existence, are to be understood.

14 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 15 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

16 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth a hundred of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

17 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra 18 which a man recites after swallowing of the out-squeezed homa, 19 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 20 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

21 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth a thousand of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

22 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 23 which a man recites, starting up from sleep [1] and going to sleep again [2], 24 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 25 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

26 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth ten thousand of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

27 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 28 which a man recites, awaking and rising from sleep, 29 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 30 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

31 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth the whole region of Qaniratha with cattle, and with wealth in posterity [3], in greatness and goodness and excellence?

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[1] This translates *ustryamnô* which is rendered in Huz. by *lâlâ-nipîmishnîh*, a word which is not clearly intelligible to me. The Zand word is best traced to the root *tar* + *us* = Sans. *ut-tar* which means 'come out, or up'. *Qafnâdha* is evidently an ablative, with which the Sans. *ut-tar* is likewise construed.

[2] *Avaṇuhabdemnô*, Huz. *barâ-khelmûnishnîh*, to be derived from *qabda* 'to sleep' + *ava*.

[3] The words *maḍ-rathem paiti vîrem* are difficult to explain. The Huzvâresh

32 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 33 which a man recites at the extreme end of life, 34 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 35 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

36 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth all this which is in the earth and in the sky, and this earth, and those lights, and all good things created by Mazda which have their origin in truth?

37 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 38 when one renounces evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

## Chapter II.

### On the fate of the soul of the pious after death.

(Comp. *Vishtâsp Nask* VIII. 53—64. *Vend.* 19, 27—32. *Ardâ Vîrâf* IV. 8—35. *Mainyô-i Khard* II. 123—157.)

1 Zarathus'tra asked Ahura-mazda: O Ahura-mazda, most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, holy one: 2 when a pious man passes away, where remains his soul that night?

3 Then said Ahura-mazda: 4 It sits down near the head, 5 chanting the Gâtha Us'tavaiti, imploring blessedness thus: 'Blessed is he, blessed is everyone to whom Ahura-mazda, the ruler by his own will, should grant (the two everlasting powers)' [1]. 6 On this night the

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version has: *levatman ras*, *barâ min vîr*, *javîd min anshûtâ; ras* is probably the Zand *ratha* 'chariot'; *barâ min vîr* translates *paiti vîrem*, but not correctly, I think, as this would mean 'without men'; and the same sense is conveyed by the gloss *javîd min anshûtâ*. But *paiti* can never bear the meaning 'without'; the translator has, perhaps, confounded *paiti* with *para*. *Rathem* I have traced to the root *râ* 'to give' and taken in the sense of 'wealth'; in this case, we must suppose that the *a* has been shortened. But it may, perhaps better, be traced to *ratu* 'head': then *rathem* would be read *rathwem*, and mean 'headship'; and the sense would be: 'men (offspring) who are chiefs'.

[1] See Haug's 'Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsis', pag. 147.

soul perceives as much of pleasure as all that which *he had when he was* a living existence (*living in the world*)[1].

7 Where dwells his soul the second night?

8 Then said Ahura-mazda: 9—10 [*as in 4—5*]. 11 On this night also *the soul perceives* as much of pleasure [*as in 6*].

12 Where dwells his soul also the third night?

13 Then said Ahura-mazda: 14—15 [*as in 4—5*]. 16 On this night also, 17 *the soul perceives* as much of pleasure [*as in 6*].

18 On the passing away of the third night, when the dawn appears[2], the soul of the pious man appears passing through trees and sweet scents. 19 To him there seems a wind blowing from the more southern side, from the more southern quarters, 20 a sweet scent more

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[1] The Huzvâresh translation has: 'unto it in that night, is as much comfort and (as?) the soul wants for, *as much* as all that which it saw, during lifetime in the world'. The sense conveyed by it, is certainly correct; but it is not so easy to explain it grammatically. *Juyô* may be, as to its form, the gen. sg. of a nom. *jvi* fem. which never occurs; but it may also be taken as a nom. sg. standing for *jvyô* = *jivya*. In our passage, I am rather inclined to take it in the latter sense; *juyô aṅhus* means 'the living existence'; the sense is: 'the soul has in that night as much pleasure as his whole living existence comprised'.

[2] The Huz. has: 'at the end of the third night, at the rising (of the light) also appears to him, in the dawn, what is the soul of the pious man', etc. *Thraos'ta* is thus translated by *rôêshman* 'end', which seems to be correct as regards the general sense. Grammatically, *thraos'ta* is an instrumental, in the sense of a locative. I trace it to the root *tar* 'to pass by', standing for *tarus'ta*; this is, I think, an abstract noun of *tarus'* the past part. act. of *tar*, meaning 'having passed away'. The *a* of *tar* has disappeared, as the accent must have been on *us'*, and *t* is changed to *th* according to rule; the change to *ao* = *o* appears to be more a matter of pronunciation than of etymology. *Vyusā sadhayêiti* is rendered by *pavan uzdahîshnîh medammûnêd pavan aûshbâm*, whence it follows that *vyusā* was taken as a locative. In Vend. 19, 28. there is, in a parallel passage, really the locative *vyusaiti*, but without *sadhayêiti*; I am, therefore, inclined to take *sadhayêiti* as the locative part. pres. 'in the dawning appearing' i. e. when the dawn appears.

sweet-scented than other winds. 21 Then inhaling [1] that wind with the nose, the soul of the pious man considers: Whence [2] blows the wind, the most sweet-scented wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils? 22 Advancing [3] with this wind, there appears to him what is his own religion, 23 in the body of a beautiful maiden, brilliant, white-armed, strong, well-grown, high-statured [4], tall, with prominent breasts, straight [5], noble, with a dazzling face, of fifteen years, with a body as beautiful as the most beautiful of creatures.

24 Then the soul of the pious man spoke to her, asking: What virgin art thou, whom I have seen here as the most beautiful of virgins in form?

25 Then answered him his own religion: I am, O youth, thy good thoughts, good words, good deeds (and) good religion, on account of which good religion in thy own possession, 26 everyone has loved thee for such greatness, and goodness, and beauty, and perfume, and victor-

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[1] *Uzgerembyô* is translated by *lâlâ vakhdûnd* 'taken up', here 'snuffed up'. The translator has evidently derived it from *gerew* 'to take' which is, I think, correct; *mb* stands apparently for *w*, which was, perhaps, some provincialism. As to its form, it is the part. of the pres. tense of the causal form, but with suppression of the *a* before *yô*, which might have caused the change of *w* to *mb*.

[2] *Kuda-dhaêm*, Huz. *min aîgh dahishno* 'whence originating', which rendering is certainly correct as to the sense; but there is some difficulty as to the construction. As it refers to *vâtô* we ought to expect *kuda-dhayô*.

[3] *Frĕrenta*, Huz. *fravâft* 'advancing'; it is the instrumental of a noun *frĕrenti* 'arrival'.

[4] *Huzarshtayâo*, Huz. *lâlâ astâdak aîgh yûdân va bûland* 'standing up, i. e. young and high; I have accordingly translated it by 'high-statured'. The derivation of the word is uncertain.

[5] *Sraotanvô*, Huz. *nadûk tanû* 'of a good body'. The first part of the word is probably to be traced to a word *sarva*, or *srva*, which is no longer extant in the Zand, but preserved in the modern Persian سرو 'a cypress'; thus it means 'cypress-bodied' i. e. high, tall, or straight. Persian poets frequently compare tall female statures to cypresses; and *sraotanvô* is generally used in the description of female beauties.

iousness which overcomes enemies, as thou appearest to me[1]. 27 Thou hast loved me, O youth, the good thoughts, good words, good deeds, the good religion with such greatness and goodness, and beauty and perfume, and victoriousness which overcomes enemies, as I appear to thee. 28 When thou mightest see another performing burning (of the dead) and idolworship, and causing oppression, and cutting down trees, 29 then thou wouldst sit down, chanting the Gâthas, and consecrating the good waters and the fire of Ahura-mazda, and extolling the pious man coming from near and far[2]. 30 Then *thou madest* me,

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[1] This is thus rendered by the Huz.: 'She said in reply who was his own religion, thus: I am thou, I am (that is, I am thou thyself), O youth of good thought, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, who am thy own religion which remained as excellent as thy own self. This it is for whose will and whose deeds thou art as great and good and virtuous and sweet-scented and triumphant and unharmed as appears to me'. *Yâ hava daêna* is to be taken as an instrumental 'through the own religion', i. e. on account of the own religion; *qaêpaithê* is locative. The Huz. has, as is often the case, wrongly divided the sentences, and separated *chischa chakana* from the relative sentence *yâ hava daêna*.

[2] The Huz. has: 'When thou sawest those others that they committed injury and idolworship [they made demon worship], and they, with their own will, destroyed the wills of fellow-creatures [that is, whoever desired any thing, it was not given to them], and they made trees the doors [that is, their door was shut up]; then thou hast sat down, and the Gâthas were chanted by thee, and the good waters were worshiped, and the fire of Aûharmazd was cared for by thee, and the pious man was also praised by thee, who came from near and who was also from far'. *Saochaya* is rendered by *afsôs*, 'ridicule, injury'; but this can be hardly correct, for it can only be derived from *such* 'to burn'; it probably refers to the burning of the dead which is a crime according to the Zoroastrian religion. — *Baosavascha* is rendered by *bôndak* (the meaning of which is not clear to me), and explained by *shedayâzakîh* 'demon-worship'. In Minokh. II. 132, the word seems to be explained by *bêshîdan u tar kardan* 'causing oppression and overbearing'. If I may venture upon a guess, I am inclined to take it as a foreign word to be identified with *bodhisatva*, the well known buddhistic term by which the candidates for the dignity of a Buddha are designated, who are worshiped. Many scholars will object to the occurrence of buddhistic terms in Zand writings; but in Yt. 13, 16. *Gaotema* is

being beloved, more beloved, me being beautiful, more beautiful, me being desirable, more desirable, 31 me being seated in a high place, sitting down in a *still* higher place, 32 through this good thought, through this good word, through this good deed. Then men afterwards worship me, Ahura-mazda, the long worshiped and conversed with.

33 The soul of the pious man first advanced with a footstep *which* he placed upon Humata (*good thought*); the soul of the pious

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mentioned, which can only refer to *Gautama Buddha*, as Gaotema is put in opposition to Zarathus'tra (for he alone is to be understood by *vyâkhanô vyâkhamô hugûshayaḍ-ukhdhô*), and made posterior to the Pârsî prophet. Now we know that the religion of Zoroaster was partly superseded by that of Buddha, at a very early time, at Balkh. If Buddhism be alluded to in some parts of the Zandavesta, then of course, those pieces must be of a later date than the bulk of the Zand writings appear to be. There is, however, no reason to regard the Yashts as old; many of them are certainly not older than the Buddhistic times. — *Varakhedhrâoscha varôzhintem* is rendered by *pavan kâmak-i nafshman kâmak hamkhâkân makhîtûnḍ*, 'with their own will they destroyed the wills of their fellow-creatures'. *Vara* is here taken in the sense of 'will, wish'; *khedhra* appears to be identified with خود 'himself', and *zhintem* traced to the root *jan* 'to slay'. All these identifications and derivations are more than doubtful. In Minokh. II. 132, which contains a somewhat free translation of the passage, these words are explained by *qâsta ezh bazha aňdôkhtan*, 'acquiring wealth by crime'; in the account of Arḍâ Vîrâf, the passage is omitted. There is no doubt, the traditional interpreters referred the words to goods, or wealth, acquired in an improper manner, or unlawfully, or to oppression; but I doubt whether this is the correct meaning. The first part of *varakhedhra* (the reading *vakhedhra* in Yt. 24, 37, 59. is certainly wrong) is *vara* which may mean 'choice', 'excavation, cavern, grotto', 'garden' or 'breast'. If we consider that *urvarô-strayăscha*, which can only mean 'cutting down of trees' (a great crime according to the Zoroastrian religion) follows immediately, we are justified in supposing that *varakhedhra* may refer to a similar crime against the good creation. I therefore take it as 'excavation, grotto', and *varôzhintem* as 'covering over, destroying', *varôzh* being a denominative; thus it means 'destroying excavations, or vaults', probably water-courses, which is a great sin according to the Zoroastrian religion. This is, however, only a guess of mine. In the translation, I have adopted the traditional view.

man secondly advanced with a footstep *which* he placed upon Hûkhta (*good word*); the soul of the pious man thirdly advanced with a footstep *which* he placed upon Huvarshta (*good action*). 34 The soul of the pious man fourthly advanced with a footstep *which* he placed on the eternal luminaries.

35 To him spoke a pious one, previously deceased, asking: How, O pious one, didst thou die? how, O pious one, didst thou come away from the dwellings supplied with cattle, and from the copulating birds? [1] 36 from the life containing creatures to the spiritual life, from the perishable world to the imperishable world? how long will have been thy blessing!

37 Then said Ahura-mazda: Ask not him whom thou askest, who is come along the frightful, deadly, destructive path, the separation of the body and soul.

38 Of the nourishments brought to him, *there is some* of the Zaremaya-oil [2]; that is the food of a youth of good thought, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, after death; 39 that *is* the food for a woman of very good thoughts, of very good words, of very good deeds, well-governed, ruled by a master *and* pious, after death.

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[1] The Huz. renders this passage as follows: 'How didst thou come away, O pious one, to this place, from that dwelling-supplied, cattle-supplied, desire-supplied [that is, they desire others in it], cohabitation-supplied [that is, they cohabit after the menstruous discharge, which is said to be a characteristic of the world]'; *vayaĉibyascha hacha mâyavaitibyascha* I have translated by 'from the copulating birds'. Though this may seem strange, the sense can hardly be otherwise. The Huz. renders *vayaĉibyascha* by *khvahîshn* 'desire'; but this sense is too vague. Birds form part of the good creation; and their copulation is regarded as auspicious.

[2] The Huz. has: 'Let them bring him as food the Zaremaya-oil'. *Beretanãm* is taken as a 3d pers. plur. imperat.; but it is the gen. plur. of the past part. *bereta*, as to its form; though a verb is wanted by the sense. As the text now stands, the auxiliary verb must be supplied.

## Chapter III.

### On the fate of the wicked soul after death.

(Comp. Arḍâ Vîrâf XVII. 4—28; Mainyô-i Khard II. 158—194.)

1 Zarathus'tra asked Ahura-mazda [*as in* II. 1]: 2 when a wicked man dies, where remains his soul that night?

3 Then said Ahura-mazda: There, indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, in the vicinity of the head it runs about, 4 chanting the Gâtha Kãm-nemêzãm: 'To what land can I turn, where can I go to in turning?' 5 On this night, the soul perceives as much of uneasiness as all that which *he had when he was* a living existence.

6—10 Where remains his soul the second night? *etc.* [*as in 3—5*].

11—16 Where remains his soul the third night? *etc.* [*as in 3—5*].

17 On the passing away of the third night, O pious Zarathus'tra, when the dawn appears, the soul of the wicked man appears passing through terrors and stenches. 18 To him there seems a wind blowing forth from the more northern side, from the more northern quarters, 19 a stench more foul-smelling than other winds. 20 Then inhaling that wind with the nose, the soul of the wicked man considers: Whence blows the wind, the most stinking wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils? 21—32 [*Omitted in the MSS., being the converse of II. 22—33*].

33 The soul of the wicked man fourthly advanced with a footstep *which* he placed on the eternal glooms.

34 To him spoke a wicked one, previously dead, asking: How, O wicked one, didst thou die? how, O wicked one, didst thou come away 35 from the dwellings supplied with cattle, and from the copulating birds, 36 from the life containing creatures to the spiritual life, from the perishable world to the imperishable world? How long will be thy distress!

37 Anrô-mainyu shouted: Ask not him whom thou askest, who is come along the frightful, deadly, destructive path, the separation of the body and soul.

38 Of the nourishments brought to him, *there are some* from poison and poisonous stench; that is the food, after death, of a youth of evil thought, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion; 39 that *is* the food, after death, for a harlot of very evil thoughts, of very evil words, of very evil deeds, ill-instructed, not ruled by a master, *and* wicked.

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